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## ENGLISH AND AMERICAN IMITATIONS OF GOETHE'S WERTER

The popularity of Goethe's *Werter* in England and America is attested not only by the various translations of the book, but also by the numerous imitations which it called forth. During the last two decades of the eighteenth century there appeared in England no less than twenty-eight poems, six novels, and one tragedy, and in America seven poems and three novels, which owe their origin to Goethe's work. The authors of these imitations concerned themselves not so much with the revolutionary character of the book as with its sentimental side, in which they saw their age reflected.<sup>1</sup>

### I. WERTER POETRY

The first work called forth was *Werter to Charlotte, A Poem*, published by Edward Taylor in London in 1784.<sup>2</sup> The author tells

<sup>1</sup> It has been very difficult to obtain access to these imitations. With the exception of the poem by Anne Francis, which is apparently not to be had, I have been able to examine the complete list of poems. Of the novels two, *The Confidential Letters of Albert* and *The Female Werter*, are not in the British Museum. I have therefore been dependent upon the reviews for information concerning these. Many of these works appeared anonymously; but frequently when the name is attached it has been impossible to obtain much information concerning the author. It would be a grave omission not to mention the help derived from a number of studies on literary relations, especially from W. A. Colwell, *A Study of German Literature in England from 1780 to 1800* (unpublished thesis, Harvard University, 1906), where many of these imitations are listed but not discussed. However, Dr. Colwell fails to mention a number of works and reviews.

<sup>2</sup> Goedeke, *Grundriss*, IV, 3, p. 198; J. W. Appell, *Werther und seine Zeit*, pp. 15, 310; E. Oswald, "Goethe in England and America," *Pub. Eng. Goethe Society*, XI, 54. Very little seems to be known of Edward Taylor. According to Appell, he was "ein neunzehnjähriger Dichterling" of Noan, Tipperary, when this poem appeared. Besides this poem, the catalogue of the British Museum mentions three works of which he was the author.

us in his brief preface that he has endeavored to express in verse some of the incidents and sentiments with which he was chiefly struck in the perusal of the "affecting story." To meet his purpose he seems to have selected Werter's last letter to Charlotte, in which one sees the former "under the most violent agitations of disappointed love and frantic despair." In the poem, as in the letter, Werter addresses himself to Charlotte in the moment previous to his death. He recalls their first meeting, and reviews the story of his unrequited love, to which he attributes all his "woes" and his tragic fate. There is no evidence of any originality on the part of the young author, and nothing that might convince one that he was endowed with poetic temperament. He merely paraphrases Werter's letter in a number of masculine lines. But, unlike the original, the poem is written in a monotonous tone, is replete with redundancy of thought and expression, and is utterly void of impassioned language. It is merely the case of a young writer trying his hand at verse and giving expression to the sentimental feeling to which the story particularly appealed.

Only one review seems to have passed judgment on this poem. The *Monthly Review*,<sup>1</sup> after commenting on the pernicious tendency of Goethe's novel, severely criticized Taylor's efforts.

The second poem, *The Sorrows of Charlotte at the Tomb of Werter*, first appeared in the *London Morning Chronicle* of February 14, 1785, and was quoted the same year in the April numbers of both the *Gentleman's Magazine*<sup>2</sup> and the *European Magazine*.<sup>3</sup> It was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* without comment, but the *European Magazine* added some remarks by the contributor, who, in reviewing Anna Seward's novel, *Louisa*, stated that the poem furnished a striking illustration of the fashionable writing "where one of our sentimental poets or poetesses of glorious sensibility and taste thus expresses him or herself." After quoting the poem, the critic, who signs himself "T. W.," proceeds to condemn the absurdity of its contents.

Another short poem, equally valueless, *A Description of the Tomb of Werter*, was contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine*<sup>4</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> LXXII (1785), 468.

<sup>2</sup> LV, 307.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 261.

<sup>4</sup> LV, 385.

May, 1785, by a Mrs. Hughes. It was also published in the *Scots Magazine*<sup>1</sup> in September of the same year.

The fourth poem, *A Letter to a Friend with a Poem called the Ghost of Werter*, by Lady Wallace, appeared in London in 1787.<sup>2</sup> According to the reviews, the letter of Lady Wallace prefixed to this poem was devoted to a severe censure of Charlotte's character, in which she charges her with indecency toward Werter and infidelity toward Albert. The poem is an expostulation from the ghost of Werter to Charlotte, and would seem to be a mere paraphrase, in rhymed couplets, of the letter condemning Charlotte. The design of the entire poem is to make Werter reproach Charlotte for having criminally indulged herself while she was practising on him, with fatal effect, the art of seduction. Every line is a condemnation of Charlotte's lack of love and esteem for Albert, and an assertion of her responsibility for Werter's tragic fate. Several parts are animated and suited to the character of the hero of the novel, but the work as a whole is lacking in variety of expression and really poetic vocabulary. The author's sentiments would unquestionably be more adaptable to prose than to poetry. However, her work occupies a unique position in the long list of Werter poems, inasmuch as it is such a pronounced criticism of Charlotte's character. The impression is immediately conveyed that Lady Wallace intended her poem to serve as a moral for the age.

While the reviews devoted considerable space to Lady Wallace's letter, they concerned themselves very little with her poem. It was criticized briefly and unfavorably in the *Critical Review*,<sup>3</sup> the *Analytical Review*,<sup>4</sup> and the *Monthly Review*.<sup>5</sup>

Another poem, *Charlotte to Werter: A Poetical Epistle*, by Anne Francis, was published in London in 1787.<sup>6</sup> The *Scots Magazine*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> XLVII, 456.

<sup>2</sup> Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, pp. 15, 311; Oswald, p. 54. A copy of this poem was forwarded from the British Museum. Lady Wallace, as Appell points out, was the sister of the Duchess of Gordon and the author of long-forgotten comedies. One of her best known works, apparently, was *Whim*, a three-act comedy, published in London in 1785, which the *Monthly Mirror*, I, 39, condemned as "a jumble of nonsense and vulgarity from beginning to end."

<sup>3</sup> LXV (1788), 403.

<sup>4</sup> II (1788), 492.

<sup>5</sup> LXXVIII (1788), 351.

<sup>6</sup> This poem is listed by Goedeke, p. 199, and by Appell and Oswald. I have been unable to find a copy of it in the British Museum or elsewhere. For Anne Francis, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XX.

<sup>7</sup> L (1788), 238.

listed this poem without comment, but it received notice from some of the other magazines. The *Monthly Review*<sup>1</sup> praised it, while the *English Review*<sup>2</sup> published several extracts and appended some rather scathing criticism. As a composition, however, the reviewer found that the poem had some merit.

When Anne Francis published her volume of *Miscellaneous Poems* in 1790, it contained a different poem, entitled *The Ghost of Charlotte at the Tomb of Werter*.<sup>3</sup> This probably gave rise to the erroneous belief that the first poem, *Charlotte to Werter*, was included in this volume.<sup>4</sup>

The next poem, a volume of sixty-nine pages, by Amelia Pickering, appeared in London in 1788 with the title *The Sorrows of Werter*.<sup>5</sup> This is the most pretentious of the poems to which the novel gave rise. It consists of thirteen letters, elegiac in tone—*Werter to Charlotte*, *Werter to Albert*, etc.—the setting of which leads one to believe that the author intended her work to present a general view of Werter's career. From first to last the poem is Werter's song of lament and despair, and the style is so monotonous that any letter is a fair representative of the whole. Lines are thrown in, occasionally, which directly express the antidotal character of the poem. This is seen especially in the last letter, *Charlotte to Louisa*, a letter which is not suggested by Goethe, but which serves the author as a means for moralizing as she accentuates the horrors of Werter's death. Since it is no integral part of the poem, it weakens the effect that the story, when artistically told, should have upon the reader. Its purpose is evidently to counteract any evil tendency that the story may have caused, and it clearly summarizes the entire attitude of the author toward Goethe's novel.

The story of *Werter*, as told in this poem, can lay little claim to interest. No attention is paid to the finer points of the work nor to

<sup>1</sup> LXXVIII (1788), 351.

<sup>2</sup> XII (1788), 123-24.

<sup>3</sup> *Miscellaneous Poems*, by Anne Francis, London, 1790, p. 213.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Goedeke, p. 199, and Appell, p. 311. The volume of *Miscellaneous Poems*, which I have consulted personally in the British Museum, does not contain the first poem, *Charlotte to Werter*.

<sup>5</sup> Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, pp. 16, 312; Oswald, p. 54. The Harvard University Library possesses a copy of this poem. Amelia Pickering is not mentioned in any of the well-known biographical dictionaries. The Catalogue of the British Museum mentions her only as the author of the poem in question.



the spirit which animates the whole. The letters are expressed in language that well brings out their emotion and despair, yet there is no great poetry in them. Occasionally such expressions as "hope's expanded wing" and "disappointment raises her hydra head,"<sup>1</sup> appear; and at times the author seems to strike the same note that Gray did in the *Elegy*. This is especially true in the twelfth letter, where she paraphrases Gray's "the boast of heraldry" as "the blaze of heraldry." The use of nature in contrast and harmony is noticeable throughout. The use also of interrogation and exclamation relieves the otherwise even flow of verse. The diction is strong and forceful rather than ornate, yet the use of simile and personification is frequent. The poem is clearly the work of an ardent sentimentalist.

Several of the leading magazines reviewed this poem. The *English Review*<sup>2</sup> published several extracts from it, and was not very favorable in its criticism. The *Analytical Review*<sup>3</sup> and the *Monthly Review*<sup>4</sup> were altogether unfavorably impressed.

The eighth poem, *Charlotte; or a Sequel to the Sorrows of Werter*, appeared in Bath in 1792 in a collection of poems by Mrs. Farrell.<sup>5</sup> The author tells us in a prefatory note that the action takes place early in the spring after Werter's death, which occurred at Christmas, and that his grave, instead of being between two lime trees at the end of the churchyard, is at a crossroad, according to the English custom in cases of premeditated self-murder. The poem is a short and rather spirited narrative in which emphasis is given chiefly to the element of despair. In Charlotte's broken slumbers Werter's image pursues her and summons her to his grave. With this brief exposition, the author proceeds to describe Charlotte's journey in the early morning, accompanied by a "widowed bird," a "kindred spirit," to Werter's grave, upon which she falls dead. She is pursued by her father, who is named Sickbert. Her body is found and

<sup>1</sup> Letter VI, pp. 31-32. This is the most poetic letter of the poem.

<sup>2</sup> XIII (1789), 128-29.

<sup>3</sup> III (1789), 73-74.

<sup>4</sup> LXXX (1789), 464-65.

<sup>5</sup> Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, p. 312; Oswald, p. 55. A copy of this poem is now in the Harvard University Library. Very little is known of Mrs. Farrell. She was mentioned at some length in *Europ. Mag.*, XXII (1792), 355. The writer stated that she had gained the protection of the "first female personage in the Kingdom."

carried back to Albert's home. Of all the poems based on the story, this is the most complete specimen of pathos that we have. Almost the only variation in the general tone of the poem is a trite bit of moralizing near the beginning, which shows conclusively the author's attitude toward the outcome of the novel. The whole is written in comparatively simple language, but several lines are awkwardly constructed, so that the meaning is not immediately clear. The poem gives evidence, however, of vivid imagination and considerable power of description on the part of the author. It was praised by the *European Magazine*,<sup>1</sup> but the *Critical Review*<sup>2</sup> thought that the author's literary reputation would not be of long duration.

One more poem appeared before the end of the century. In 1793 the *Lady's Magazine*<sup>3</sup> published without comment twenty-nine lines "Supposed to Have Been Written by Werter to Charlotte just Before His Death." The poem is signed "R.S.P.," and like many of these *Wertheriaden* is quite worthless.<sup>4</sup>

Besides the nine poems of some length which have been listed, *Werter* inspired five elegies and fourteen sonnets. All of the elegies appeared between 1786 and 1793. The first, *Elegy on the Death of Werter*, signed "C.A.," was published in the *European Magazine*<sup>5</sup> in September, 1786. In November of the same year the *European Magazine*<sup>6</sup> published the second, *Elegy, from the Sorrows of Werter*, signed "Aubinus." The following year the *Hibernian Magazine*<sup>7</sup> published *An Elegy upon Charlotte and Werter*, signed "C.M." The fourth, *Elegy, Written after Having Read the Sorrows of Werter*, signed "Della Crusca," appeared in the *British Album*<sup>8</sup> in 1790. The real author was Robert Merry, the founder of the Della Cruscan school of poetry, which was distinguished for affectation and tasteless verse. The first edition of the *British Album*, which was a reprint of the periodical entitled *The World*, appeared in 1789; so it is very likely that this elegy appeared before 1790. The fifth

<sup>1</sup> XXII (1792), 355.

<sup>2</sup> VI (1792), 114.

<sup>3</sup> XXIV, 104.

<sup>4</sup> The *Month. Mag.* in May, 1812, and again in the same month of the following year, listed *Werter to Charlotte, a Poem, Founded on the Sorrows of Werter*, by a student of Lincoln's Inn. Nothing seems to be known of this poem. Cf. *Month. Rev.*, XXIII, 359; XXXV, 341. Cf. also Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, IV; Goedeke, p. 200; and Appell, p. 312.

<sup>5</sup> X, 214.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 379.

<sup>7</sup> XVII, 157.

<sup>8</sup> Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, p. 312; Oswald, p. 54.

elegy appeared with the title *Stanzas*, and was published by Alexander Thomson in Edinburgh in 1793 in a collection, *Essays on Novels, A Poetical Epistle to an Ancient and Modern Bishop, with Six Sonnets from Werter*.<sup>1</sup> According to Brandl,<sup>2</sup> Thomson began as early as May, 1786, to recast parts of *Werter* in the form of elegies and sonnets, and had by 1790 completed a dozen of these. So it would seem probable that this elegy was written earlier than 1793.

All of these elegies are written in iambic quatrains with alternate rhymes. The second is tetrameter; the others are pentameter, perhaps influenced by the form of Gray's *Elegy*. None of them show any striking originality; all are gloomy, dull, and decorous. While the first, *Elegy on the Death of Werter*, contains some attempts at forceful phrasing, its general effect is amateurish. The second is a monologue by Charlotte. Like the third elegy, it is considerably marred by assonance. Della Crusca, in the fourth, produced the best verse of the series. Unlike the others, he seems to see both the lover and the revolutionary in Werter. The elegy by Thomson is simply a paraphrase of a part of Werter's letter of September 10.<sup>3</sup> The general tone of the original letter, in which Charlotte recalls the memory of her mother, is particularly adapted to the mood of an elegy. Thomson's reproduction, however, is rather weak. Thus, an examination of these elegies will show that they are without the passion of good poetry and that they are generally lacking in permanent or universal interest.

The first sonnet, *Charlotte to the Shade of Werter*, signed "S.C.," appeared in the November number of the *European Magazine*<sup>4</sup> in 1786. In the same year Charlotte Smith published the third edition of her *Elegiac Sonnets, and Other Poems*, which included, among twenty new ones, two sonnets "Supposed to Be Written by Werter."<sup>5</sup> The fifth edition in 1789 contained five such sonnets, including the first two. The other three were probably added then, but may have

<sup>1</sup> Goedeke, p. 200; Appell, p. 312; Oswald, p. 55. Thomson was the author of numerous works, among which is the *German Miscellany*, a collection of translations from Kotzebue and Meissner, published in Perth in 1796. He was apparently an ardent student of the German poets and was especially fond of Goethe's novel. Cf. *Month. Rev.*, XV (1794), 209; *Gent. Mag.*, LXXIII (1803), 1096; Baker, *Biog. Dram.*, I, 710.

<sup>2</sup> *Goethe-Jahrb.*, III, 34.

<sup>3</sup> X, 380.

<sup>4</sup> Part I, p. 59 (Cotta ed.).

<sup>5</sup> *Crit. Rev.*, LXI (1786), 467.

been in the first edition in 1784.<sup>1</sup> This collection passed through several editions before the end of the century. In 1795 a reprint from the sixth edition appeared at Worcester, Massachusetts. Another sonnet, *The Sorrows of Werter*, was contributed to the *Lady's Magazine*<sup>2</sup> in October, 1792, by one Thomas George Ingall. Then the following year Alexander Thomson published his *Six Sonnets from Werter*.<sup>3</sup>

The sonnet *Charlotte to the Shade of Werter*<sup>4</sup> is Charlotte's lament after Werter's death, and is not very elegant in style. The sonnets of Charlotte Smith<sup>5</sup> deal monotonously with Werter's despair and resignation. They were, however, received very favorably by the *Critical Review*<sup>6</sup> and the *Monthly Mirror*.<sup>7</sup> The seventh sonnet, *The Sorrows of Werter*, by Ingall, is simply a versification of a few lines in Werter's last letter to Charlotte,<sup>8</sup> in which he solicits her to remember former days when she passes his grave. The author gives no evidence of originality, but uses the language of the novel as it conforms with the particular mood. The six sonnets by Thomson are, as he tells us in his preface, incidents in the novel cast in the form of verse. He gives at the beginning of each sonnet a line from the particular passage which he has chosen. With the exception of the last, however, which is a versification of the closing paragraph of Werter's letter dated May 26,<sup>9</sup> all of his sonnets are based on the letter dated September 10,<sup>10</sup> which describes Werter's last meeting with Charlotte and Albert before he leaves to enter the diplomatic service. The *Monthly Review*<sup>11</sup> pronounced his sonnets "elegant," and published the last one.

<sup>1</sup> *Crit. Rev.*, LVII (1784), 472.

<sup>2</sup> XXVIII, 550.

<sup>3</sup> Thomson states in his preface that he had once some intention of putting into sonnets all the most brilliant passages of *Werter*. "Such a series (if tolerably executed) would exhibit a more natural and pathetic picture of the various fluctuations in the mind of a lover than any publication of amorous poetry, even than the effusions of Petrarch himself. The number of such sonnets which could be thus collected might amount to a hundred."

<sup>4</sup> As stated above, this sonnet was signed "S.C." This may have been Charlotte Smith.

<sup>5</sup> Besides her *Elegiac Sonnets*, Charlotte Smith published a novel nearly every year between 1788 and 1799. Her writings found considerable favor with the public, especially so the *Sonnets*, which in 1787 could boast of such subscribers as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Horace Walpole, Mrs. Siddons, and the two Whartons. Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, LIII.

<sup>6</sup> LXI (1786), 467.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> V (1798), 32.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 58.

<sup>9</sup> Part 2, p. 102 (Cotta ed.).

<sup>11</sup> XV (1794), 209.

These thirteen sonnets are all much of the same type. They are Shakespearean in form, and are filled with the gloom and melancholy sentimentality so characteristic of the elegies. The demands of form, however, are more of a restraint upon the authors in the case of the sonnets than in the case of the elegies and longer poems.

One more sonnet, of which little is known, seems to have owed its origin to the story. In July, 1789, the *Analytical Review*<sup>1</sup> listed *Werter's Sonnet, composed and sung by Miss Cantelo with an Accompaniment for the Piano-Forte and Harpsichord*. The review is concerned only with the music. The title suggests, however, that Miss Cantelo was the author of the words as well.

Contributions to *Werter* poetry were also made in America, where enthusiasm for the novel seems to have been considerable, but not of long duration. Thanks to the appearance of six editions of the book in this country between 1784 and 1807, and to the publication of the *Letters of Charlotte* in 1797, the story must have been well known in America.<sup>2</sup> It is not surprising, then, to find that between 1787 and 1809 nine poems dealing with the subject were contributed to American magazines.<sup>3</sup>

The first poem,<sup>4</sup> *Charlotte's Soliloquy to the Manes of Werter*, by Dr. Joseph Brown Ladd,<sup>5</sup> appeared in the *American Museum*<sup>6</sup> in February, 1787. In May of the same year the *American Museum*<sup>7</sup> published two more poems by Dr. Ladd, *Death of Werter* and *Werter's Epitaph*. The first of these three poems consists of seven quatrains written in an elegiac strain. The other two are even

<sup>1</sup> I, 349.

<sup>2</sup> F. H. Wilkens, "Early Influence of German Literature in America," *Americana-Germanica*, III, p. 136. Cf. also F. W. C. Lieder, "Goethe in England and America," *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, X, 550.

<sup>3</sup> S. H. Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846*; M. H. Haertel, *German Literature in American Magazines, 1846 to 1880*.

<sup>4</sup> In January, 1787, the *Columbian Magazine* (I, 245), published an anonymous poem, *Narcissa*, the third stanza of which contains a reference to *Werter*. This is reprinted in E. Z. Davis, *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines, 1741-1810*, p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *The Literary Remains of Joseph Brown Ladd*, collected by his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Haskins, with a sketch of the author's life. New York, 1832. Cf. also the *Philadelphia Portfolio*, X (1813), 456, and Goodnight, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> I, 180.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 474; also in Davis, pp. 126-28. The third poem, *Werter's Epitaph*, was also reprinted in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, III (1791), 114, and in the *Philadelphia Repository*, V (1805), 164.

shorter than the first; each consists of four iambic quatrains of no permanent interest. The *Death of Werter* is a versification of that part of the story in which Werter receives the pistols from Charlotte and reaffirms his purpose. The third, *Werter's Epitaph*, expresses in part the significance of Werter's character. All three make little claim upon one's interest, for they are very much of the same character as most of the English poems.

Another poem, *Werter. Letter 5th. Versified, by Philadelphiensis*, was published in the *Columbian Magazine*<sup>1</sup> in 1787. This poem, consisting of rhymed couplets, is a versification of Werter's letter dated June 21.<sup>2</sup> This letter, in which Werter describes the rustic life in the vicinity of Walheim, is particularly suggestive of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, or *The Traveller*, and is one of the several letters in the story that readily lend themselves to versification. The author follows the original closely and gives us a version of the letter which has a certain freshness and which may be read with interest.

The next poem,<sup>3</sup> *On Reading the Sorrows of Werter*, signed "Laura," appeared in the *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine*<sup>4</sup> in October, 1790. This is of little interest; it shows that the author judged Werter's character and tragic fate altogether in view of his relations with Charlotte. In January of the following year the same magazine<sup>5</sup> published *Letter LXI, of the Sorrows of Werter Versified*. This poem, dated Monmouth, December 30, 1790, consists of ten stanzas of six lines each; the third and sixth lines are trimeter; the others are tetrameter. The letter in the novel is dated October 12,<sup>6</sup> and is devoted to a characterization of Ossian. In 1798 the *Dessert to the True American*<sup>7</sup> published *Werter's Farewell to Charlotte*, a poem in rhymed couplets based on Werter's last letter to Charlotte. This breathes the same spirit that one notes in the letter and in the several English poems derived from it.

<sup>1</sup> I, 668. Cf. Goodnight, p. 24. This poem is not listed by Davis.

<sup>2</sup> Part 1, p. 32 (Cotta ed.).

<sup>3</sup> Goodnight, p. 24, records a poem, *Werter's Despair*, as having appeared in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, I (1789), 470; but I have been unable to find this poem.

<sup>4</sup> V, 269; reprinted in Davis, p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> VI, 50; reprinted in Davis, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Part 2, p. 81 (Cotta ed.).

<sup>7</sup> I, No. 20; reprinted in Davis, p. 141.

At the close of the first decade of the nineteenth century two other Werter poems appeared in American magazines. The first, a short poem, *On Reading Werter*, was published in the *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*<sup>1</sup> in December, 1808. The writer, shocked by suicide, gives vent to his moral feelings by expressing little sympathy for Werter's "unhappy lot." The second, *Charlotte at the Tomb of Werter*, signed "A," appeared the following year in the September number of the *Visitor*.<sup>2</sup> The author of these six elegiac quatrains expresses in simple language Charlotte's lament over the death of her lover.

The last evidence of Werter poetry in America appears as late as 1826. In this year the *Atheneum; or Spirit of the English Magazines* reprinted from an English periodical *Mynheer Werter's First Interview with Charlotte*.<sup>3</sup> This is a burlesque much on the order of Thackeray's well-known "bread-and-butter" poem.

If it be asked what relation these poems bear to Goethe's novel, it may be said that though they are all evidently inspired by the story they are by no means representative of it. As we have seen, nearly all of them deal with its sentimental side; only in one elegy, that of Della Crusca, is the true significance of Werter's character hinted at. The authors of these poems made no pretense at a presentation of the incidents of the story. The finer varieties of style in the original, the delicate gradation in Werter's character, and the world in which he lives are unexpressed, perhaps even unrealized. We are confronted with a sickly, sentimental Werter who is driven to despair and death only by his weakling passion for an uninspiring Charlotte. With such defects and such lack of distinction, the poems are one and all without permanent interest.

## II. NOVELS

The first novel based on *Werter* appeared in London in 1785, with the title *Eleanora: from the Sorrows of Werter, A Tale*.<sup>4</sup> It was

<sup>1</sup> V, 664. Cf. Goodnight, p. 25. Not listed by Davis.

<sup>2</sup> *Visitor*, Richmond, Virginia, I, 135; reprinted in Davis, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> IV, Series 2, p. 446.

<sup>4</sup> Goedeke, p. 198; Appell, p. 310; Oswald, p. 53. The Harvard University Library has a reprint of this novel published in Dublin in 1786. The preface is omitted.



published anonymously in two volumes with a short preface. It consists of forty-eight letters, written chiefly by Eleanora to her friend Maria. Werter, before his acquaintance with Charlotte, is attached to Julia. But after the latter's death, a sister, Eleanora, "sips of the intoxicating draught" under the guise of friendship. In spite of several visits to Eleanora, there is little or no evidence that Werter entertains anything more than friendship for her. He leaves her without explanation, retires to a place where he sees Charlotte, and, disappointed at the latter's marriage, finally takes his own life.

This story contains little to command one's interest. The first volume presents nearly all that would seem to be an imitation of Goethe's work. The second volume is filled largely with two episodes which are not closely related to the main thread of the story. Eleanora is throughout a very weak feminine Werter. Of Werter himself we learn very little except that he is a sort of protector for Eleanora, in accordance with his promise to her sister. Like the original, he is a poet, a lover of books and nature, who, because of his unfortunate love for another's wife, finally ends his own life. This gives the author a chance to sermonize on the subject of suicide and to offer the public a weak antidote to the original story.

Since this was the first novel called forth by Goethe's work, it received considerable attention from the leading magazines, which, however, differed widely in their opinion of its value. Several of them thought that it possessed considerable attraction for readers and were quite favorable in their reviews. Among these were the *Critical Review*,<sup>1</sup> the *Town and Country Magazine*,<sup>2</sup> the *Gentleman's Magazine*,<sup>3</sup> and the *Monthly Review*.<sup>4</sup> The *European Magazine*<sup>5</sup> thought that the work was a new proof of "how deep the sentimental nonsense of sacrificing and trampling upon one duty that another may be exalted has taken hold of the imaginations of our sentimental, sobbing and sighing girls."

The second novel, and probably the most famous of the English *Wertheriaden*, is the *Letters of Charlotte during Her Connection with Werter*, published in London in 1786.<sup>6</sup> That the author of this work

<sup>1</sup> LX (1785), 141.

<sup>2</sup> LV (1785), 813.

<sup>3</sup> XVII (1785), 483.

<sup>4</sup> LXXIII (1785), 392.

<sup>5</sup> VIII (1785), 381.

<sup>6</sup> Goedeke, p. 198; Appell, p. 18; Oswald, p. 54.

considered Goethe's novel altogether from the ethical standpoint may be seen in his one-sided analysis of it. In a lengthy preface, Goethe is charged with recommending a specific crime and also with aiming a violent blow at all religion. The author is an Englishman, who, in the person of Charlotte, writes sixty-three letters to a friend, Carolina, of whom Charlotte is apparently as fond as Werter is of Wilhelm. The story, briefer than Goethe's, has its setting around Walheim. Charlotte's friend, Carolina, loving solitude, has withdrawn to the country, and here receives letters from Charlotte written in the most complimentary and affectionate terms. In the third letter she describes the ball and her meeting Werter, and from this time on her letters deal with her devotion to her friend, Theresa, with the story of the maniac, Henry, formerly secretary to her father, with the relations between Werter, Albert, and herself, and with reflections upon various subjects. The work covers very nearly the same period as *Werter*, and the main characters and events are very nearly the same, although we are introduced to some new characters of minor importance. While the book is inconceivable without *Werter*, inasmuch as entire scenes and situations are copied from the original, much of the author's work evinces a spirit anything but German and a style quite different from that of Goethe. His religious turn of mind is frequently evident, and several portions are inserted in order to combat the idea of suicide. Such passages give the work whatever mark of individuality it is entitled to receive credit for, since in these, as in similar passages in several other translations of *Werter*, we see the frame of mind in which the author found himself upon an acquaintance with the story. The events portrayed in the book are uninteresting; and the constant changing from weak dialogues between Charlotte and her friends to trite reflections is tiresome. Indeed, the author was so impressed with his duty to counteract any pernicious influence of *Werter* that his work is far from being entitled to lengthy comparison with the German model. One cannot help feeling that his main purpose in offering the public such a poor imitation was to bring Goethe's production into ill repute.

This work was reviewed in several of the leading magazines. *The Monthly Review*<sup>1</sup> found it both "interesting and pathetic." The

<sup>1</sup> LXXV (1786), 153.

*Critical Review*<sup>1</sup> and the *English Review*<sup>2</sup> received it favorably, although the latter was severe in its criticism of the author's attitude toward Goethe's novel. The popularity of the work is attested by the number of translations and reprints.<sup>3</sup> It was translated into French in 1786 by M. Arkwright, who, as Appell points out, was an Englishman then living in Paris. In 1787 there appeared another French translation, by J. J. A. St. George. The work was translated into German in 1788 by W. Reinwald, Schiller's brother-in-law, and again in 1825 by Ludwig Gall, who claims to have used the fifth American edition.<sup>4</sup> The first American reprint appeared in New York in 1797. In 1798 and also in 1807 the work was printed in the same volume with the *Sorrows of Werter*.<sup>5</sup>

The third novel,<sup>6</sup> *The Confidential Letters of Albert; From His First Attachment to Charlotte to Her Death; From the Sorrows of Werter*, appeared in London in 1790.<sup>7</sup> According to Brandl,<sup>8</sup> this work was written by John Armstrong of Leith, who gained some note as a writer of verses and also as a minister at Edinburgh.<sup>9</sup> Very little seems to be known of this novel; no copy of it seems to have been preserved in any of the well-known libraries. The *Critical Review*<sup>10</sup> spoke of the *Sorrows of Werter* as a "pernicious novel," but called this imitation "interesting and palliative." The *Monthly Review*<sup>11</sup> thought that the work would be read with pleasure as a sequel to *Werter*.

<sup>1</sup> LXI (1786), 357.

<sup>2</sup> VII (1786), 297.

<sup>3</sup> Goedeke, p. 198, records a new edition in 1810, another in 1813, and a fifth edition in 1815.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Appell, p. 21, for a list of these French and German translations.

<sup>5</sup> Wilkens, *Americana-Germanica*, III, 137.

<sup>6</sup> In 1788 the *Critical Review* (LXVI, 165) gave a brief notice of a novel: *The Correspondence of Two Lovers, Inhabitants of Lyons. Published from the French Originals*, which appeared in London and which it condemned as "pernicious volumes copied in their style and manner from the *Sorrows of Werter*." This work is not listed by any of the leading authorities as one of the *Wertheriaden*. Although it is highly sentimental and gives considerable prominence to suicide, a personal examination of its contents does not lead me to ascribe its origin to Goethe's novel.

<sup>7</sup> Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, p. 311; Oswald, p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> *Goethe-Jahrb.*, III, 35. Cf. also Allibone, *Dict. of Eng. Lit.*, I.

<sup>9</sup> In 1790 he came to London, where he was associated with the staff of one of the daily newspapers. In 1791 he published some *Sonnets from Shakespeare* under the name of "Albert." Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, II.

<sup>10</sup> LXIX (1790), 357.

<sup>11</sup> III (1790), 227.

In the same year, 1790, there appeared in London a novel in two volumes entitled *The Slave of Passion; or, The Fruits of Werter*.<sup>1</sup> This work has never been taken into account in *Werter* discussion. Loshe,<sup>2</sup> in referring to the influence of Goethe's novel on the mind of impulsive youth, states that "one tale, *The Slave of Passion, or, The Fruits of Werter*, Philadelphia, 1802, is deliberately directed against this insidious evil." This would seem to be an American reprint of the earlier London edition, if the authority of the *English Review* be accepted.<sup>3</sup>

This book consists of seventy-two letters giving the correspondence between a certain Charles and his friend Henry. The former, after being unfortunate in business, decides to join the army and to depart for the East Indies. But his regiment fails to go. He gives up his aspirations for an army career, and hopes to become an agent for a storehouse in the East Indies. Meanwhile, he has fallen in love with Maria, who, he learns, is engaged to a certain Grovens. Charles, however, obtains her promise to marry him. Aided by his friend Henry, he gives up all thoughts of suicide, marries Maria, and lives happily in his old home, which he has been able to repurchase.

The author warns us in the preface that his work was undertaken with a conviction of the dangerous tendency of Goethe's novel, and that he has attempted to "counteract the poison in Werter's letters." This is evident on every page, especially in the description of Henry's efforts to combat Charles' reasoning on suicide. Of *Werter* he says: "It is a book which cannot be too much execrated. The poison which it pours into weak minds is of the most dreadful kind, since its effects are seldom visible till it is too late to apply a remedy—it preys upon the soul—it works in secret—it ends in copying (as the poor unhappy victims of infatuation imagine him) their amiable example and apologist."<sup>4</sup> Aside from the arguments on the subject of suicide, there is nothing of interest in the novel. It lacks any traits that might make it an acceptable imitation of the German model.

<sup>1</sup> *Eng. Rev.*, XVI (1790), 67.

<sup>2</sup> Lillie Deming Loshe, *The Early American Novel*, New York, 1907, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> The British Museum, however, has only the Philadelphia reprint.

<sup>4</sup> Letter LIX, p. 127.

The *English Review*<sup>1</sup> is the only magazine that seems to have paid any attention to this work. It gave a brief outline of the story and was favorable in its criticism.

In 1792 there appeared in London *The Female Werter. A Novel. Translation of the French Wertherie of Pierre Perrin*.<sup>2</sup> This French adaptation was published in Paris in 1791. According to Appell and Suepfe, Werter's fate in this work is transferred to a young and sentimental girl named "Wertherie," who, because of her unrequited love for a certain married gentleman named Gessner, ends her life by taking poison. Perrin's novel was popular in France, but it did not appeal to the English public. The *Critical Review*<sup>3</sup> thought that this work was less dangerous than *Werter*, because it was less interesting, but that some parts of the book deserved applause. The *Monthly Review*<sup>4</sup> published some extracts and was unfavorable in its review.<sup>5</sup>

The last of the English novels that owe their origin to Goethe's story is *Werter and Charlotte. A German Story, Containing Many Wonderful and Pathetic Incidents*.<sup>6</sup> This work, without preface, was published in London in a volume of sentimental writings. No date is given, but the Catalogue of the British Museum assigns it to 1800. It consists of twenty-seven pages and serves as a mere outline of the main events in Goethe's novel. Here, however, interest is directed chiefly to Charlotte. Considerable attention is given to her early life and to her responsibilities in the home after the death of her mother. Through a friend she meets Albert, an officer in the army, whom she finally marries. During Albert's absence Werter pays her visits. Her happiness is disturbed; she discovers that she really loves Werter, but is determined to remain faithful to Albert. In spite of her pleadings, Werter commits suicide, and, after frequent visits to his grave, her death follows his.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> XVI (1790), 69.

<sup>2</sup> Appell, p. 23; T. Suepfe, "Goethes literarischer Einfluss auf Frankreich," *Goethe-Jahrb.*, VII, 219. Cf. also J. L. Haney, "German Literature in England before 1790," *Americana-Germanica*, IV, No. 2, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> IV (1792), 235.

<sup>4</sup> VII (1792), 337.

<sup>5</sup> I have not been able to find a copy of this novel. The British Museum does not have it.

<sup>6</sup> Goedeke, p. 199; Oswald, p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. Brandl, *Goethe-Jahrb.*, III, 36.

Although there are no American novels based directly on *Werter*, the influence of the book is seen in several works of the close of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In 1789 there appeared at Boston *The Power of Sympathy; or The Triumph of Nature. Founded on Truth*, by Mrs. Sara Wentworth Morton.<sup>2</sup> This novel was one of the earliest attempts at the moral regeneration of American youth, the purpose being indicated in the preface: "to expose the dangerous Consequences of Seduction and to set forth the advantages of Female Education." It is a story of incest and seduction, told in letters. Young Tom Harrington loves Harriet Faucet, who turns out to be a natural sister. Robbed of his love by circumstances and death, the young man finally blows his brains out. On his table are found a copy of the *Sorrows of Werter* and his farewell letter. The connections with Goethe's novel lie in Harrington's love of freedom, in his belief in his right to kill himself when robbed of his love, in the fact that he paces his chamber all night, becomes calm, and finally shoots himself, and in the finding of the copy of *Werter*.

The influence of *Werter* is seen also in *The Hapless Orphan, or Innocent Victim of Revenge. A Novel founded on Incidents in Real Life. In a series of Letters from Caroline Francis to Maria B. By an American Lady*, which appeared in two volumes at Boston in 1793.<sup>3</sup> The plot of this novel bears little resemblance to *Werter*, though the book is cast in epistolary form. Caroline Francis, an orphan, has the misfortune to alienate the affections and cause the suicide of Clarimont, a Princeton student, whose mistress, Eliza, pursues Caroline with implacable hatred to Trenton, Philadelphia, New York, Philadelphia again, Havre-de-Grace, Bristol, and back to Philadelphia. The pursuit involves the estrangement and death of Caroline's friends and her lover, Captain Evermont, an officer in the United States army, who is fighting Indians in what is now Michigan. His place in Caroline's affections is at length taken by a Mr. Helen. Fanny Gardner, a young and innocent girl, whom

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Loshe, *The Early American Novel*, pp. 7, 9, 106.

<sup>2</sup> Born in Braintree in 1759. Before her marriage in 1777 with Perez Morton, attorney-general of Massachusetts, she had gained a reputation as a writer of verses, and was one of the contributors to the *Massachusetts Magazine*. Cf. preface to *The Power of Sympathy*, and Loshe, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Loshe, pp. 17, 107.

Caroline takes under her protection, is beloved by Mr. Ashely, a melancholy youth, who carries a copy of the *Sorrows of Werter*, and who holds a discussion with Caroline on the subject of suicide as a justifiable course for a rejected lover. In spite of all arguments, Ashely shoots both Fanny and himself. Caroline's end is perhaps without parallel in literary history. She is at last abducted, and her lover, Mr. Helen, in searching for her, comes into the company of some medical students, who invite him to a dissection. He is astonished to find that the subject is none other than his deceased Caroline.

As is evident, the author of this book presents in the melancholy and sentimental youth, Mr. Ashely, the same type of character as Werter. But the frequent references to Goethe's novel were unquestionably designed to minimize its influence on the minds of American youth.<sup>1</sup>

### III. DRAMA

An interesting evidence of the influence of Goethe's novel in England was the dramatizing of the story as *Werter; a Tragedy, in Three Acts*,<sup>2</sup> by Frederick Reynolds.<sup>3</sup> This was the author's first attempt at play-writing. In his autobiography<sup>4</sup> he gives an interesting account of the circumstances which led to the composition of the tragedy and of the way in which his manuscript was received by Lord and Lady Effingham and their cousin, Miss Eliza Proctor, whose love he wished to win. The play, with recommendations from Lord Effingham, was offered at Covent Garden, at Drury Lane, and at the Haymarket, but was each time refused. It was finally accepted by the Bath Theater and produced for the first time on November

<sup>1</sup> Another American novel, which Loshe (p. 74) points out as "a seduction-suicide-Sorrows of Werter concoction," is entitled *The Original Letters of Ferdinand and Elizabeth* (by John Davis, New York, 1798). I have not had access to this book.

<sup>2</sup> Goedeke, p. 109; Appell, pp. 22, 311; Baker, *Biog. Dram.*, III, 396.

<sup>3</sup> Frederick Reynolds (1764-1841) was a well-known playwright in his time. He was admitted to the Westminster School in 1776, and to the Middle Temple, in 1782, for the study of law. But he soon abandoned law for play-writing. During his career he composed nearly one hundred tragedies and comedies, many of which were published and obtained popularity. His plays are described as having been aimed at the modes and follies of the moment.

<sup>4</sup> *Life and Times of Frederick Reynolds* (2 vols., London, 1826), I, 283. Cf. also 2d ed., 1827.



25, 1785.<sup>1</sup> Reynolds gives an interesting account of the performance.<sup>2</sup> As the play proved a great success and enjoyed a long run, it was afterward performed at Bristol on November 27 of the same year. On the occasion of Miss Brunton's benefit, March 4, 1786, it was produced for the first time at Covent Garden,<sup>3</sup> and, according to its author, "Werter's metropolitan was equal, if not superior, to his rural success."<sup>4</sup>

According to Baker, this play was first published in Dublin in 1786. In 1796 it was published in London, reduced from five acts to three, with the title, *Werter, a Tragedy, in Three Acts, as Performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, Bath, Bristol and Dublin*.<sup>5</sup> Genest<sup>6</sup> states, however: "*Werter*, in the title-page of 1796, is said to have been performed at Bath, Bristol and Dublin in three acts—but when Miss Wallis acted Charlotte at Bristol, August 3, 1792, the play was certainly in five acts—it seems not to have been reduced to three acts till Miss Wallis acted Charlotte at Covent Garden, December 3, 1795."<sup>7</sup> In 1802 a new edition of the play was published in London. It also appeared in London in 1811 in *The Modern Stage*, a collection of plays by Mrs. Inchbald.<sup>8</sup>

Reynolds' *Werter* was performed in America during the last decade of the eighteenth century. According to Seilhamer,<sup>9</sup> it was first performed in New York, May 9, 1796. On May 29, 1797, it was performed in Boston, and on March 22 of that year again in New York. There seems to be no record of the reception accorded it.

The characters in Reynolds' play<sup>10</sup> are, of course, Werter, Charlotte, and Albert, and to these are added Sebastian, Werter's friend, Leuthrop, his confidential servant, and Laura, Charlotte's confidante. It is worthy of note that the confidential relation of these

<sup>1</sup> *Europ. Mag.*, VIII (1785), 465; Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, VI, 418, gives the date as December 3, 1785.

<sup>2</sup> *Autobiog.*, I, 305.

<sup>3</sup> Genest, VI, 307; *Europ. Mag.*, IX (1786), 209; H. W. Singer, *Das bürgerliche Trauerspiel in England*, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 119-20.

<sup>4</sup> *Autobiog.*, I, 315. Baker, *Biog. Dram.*, III, 396, says that the play had "little success on the London boards."

<sup>5</sup> *Biog. Dram.*, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Genest, VI, p. 307.

<sup>7</sup> Goedeke and Appell record a 1786 London edition of three acts: this must be incorrect. The New York Public Library contains *Werter, a tragedy, in three acts*, etc., London, 1796.

<sup>8</sup> Goedeke, p. 199; Appell, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> *History of the Amer. Stage*, pp. 317, 324, 358, 369, 383, 395.

<sup>10</sup> I have had access to the 1802 London edition, in the Columbia University Library.

three subordinates to their principals is the only thing which makes the subjective nature of the story sufficiently objective for dramatic form. The scene throughout is Walheim, and the time falls within the classic unity of a night and a day. The more prominent of the two motives in Goethe's novel, Werter's passionate love for Charlotte, serves as the basis of the tragedy. Without any use of the numerous incidents of the story, or of the gradations in Werter's character, Reynolds represents Werter at the beginning of the play as madly in love with Charlotte, while the latter is disturbed by the thought of reproaches from Albert. In the second act, with the exception of Albert's unexpected return from a business trip, showing his suspicion of the relations between Werter and Charlotte, the author's work is suggested by Werter's visit to Charlotte, as described by Goethe.<sup>1</sup> In the last act Albert charges Charlotte with infidelity and she pronounces him a tyrant. Meanwhile, Werter, instead of borrowing pistols to accomplish his purpose, has apparently taken poison. While in the original story "man fürchtete für Lottens Leben," in the play she loses her mind, and Albert laments his own actions.

The characters here are far less interesting than in the novel. More attention is, however, given to Albert than in the original. But when one considers this as an acting play, one is forced to acknowledge that it seems ridiculously weak. Though Reynolds took particular pains to label it with the subtitle, *A Tragedy*, its lack of motivation and its paucity of true dramatic form leave it only a melodrama and a closet melodrama at that. In the process of composition the author seems to have relied on the audience's being acquainted with the leading characters, and forgets much that is needed in exposition. His method of adapting material was simply to throw certain plot-elements of the novel into florid, overseasoned dialogue, and to express in stage direction what could not be put into speech. The dialogue has one even, unrelieved tone throughout the play; it lacks contrast of any kind, in situation or in substance. The work is wholly unworthy of Goethe's novel, and deserves the unfavorable reviews which it received in the magazines.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Part 2, p. 100 (Cotta ed.).

<sup>2</sup> *Europ. Mag.*, IX (1786), 209; *Month. Rev.*, XIX (1796), 468; *Month. Mirror*, II (1796), 296.

## IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Besides the poems, the novels, and the one tragedy, there appeared in England and America between 1790 and 1846 several miscellaneous prose compositions which show in various ways the influence of *Werter*. In 1790 the *Lady's Magazine*<sup>1</sup> published several pages of prose entitled *To Fancy. From the Manuscripts of the celebrated Werter*. This is a kind of rhapsody in which Werter appeals to Fancy as his companion in solitude. He calls to memory the scenes of his childhood, describing his native town, the death of his mother, and the days spent at school. One readily discovers the Werter of the original story and the author's particular interest in Goethe's novel. It is clear that he wished to give emphasis to the social side of Werter's character by showing his critical attitude toward the world and his desire for fame. It is significant, however, that no tragic end is given to Werter's career, and that he becomes entirely resigned to the more humble sphere which fate has allotted him.

A work of great interest in connection with the history of *Werter* in England is the *Letters from Wetzlar*, written in 1817 by Major James Bell,<sup>2</sup> published at London in 1821.<sup>3</sup> The author tells us that his work was written with the intention of giving all the particulars on which Goethe's novel was founded and that, for this purpose, he spent the greater part of the year 1816 in the vicinity of Wetzlar, collecting information concerning the facts.<sup>4</sup> His work consists of eleven letters. After giving some information concerning the town of Wetzlar and the imperial Chamber of Justice, he proceeds to give a history of the personages of the novel and to point out incidents in particular letters that have their historical value. Considerable attention is given to the Buff family. The author claims to have known three of Charlotte's brothers during his stay at Wetzlar, one of whom, he tells us, succeeded to the stewardship held by

<sup>1</sup> XXI, 638-43.

<sup>2</sup> James Bell (1769-1833) is mentioned briefly in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* as the "geographical author." He devoted the greater part of his life to the study and publication of geographical and historical material. Cf. also Allibone, I.

<sup>3</sup> Appell, pp. 24, 312.

<sup>4</sup> The author mentions his indebtedness to Goethe's *Memoirs* and to Baron Breidenbach's *History of Werter Explained*.

his father, while another was living in 1817 on a farm in the neighborhood.<sup>1</sup> He also states that while writing these letters he had the pleasure of visiting Charlotte (Mrs. Kestner) at Hanover and found her the mother of eight sons and two daughters.<sup>2</sup> With the exception of these few facts, the details of the book are practically those recorded by later authorities, such as Herbst and Wolff.<sup>3</sup> The book is written in a thoroughly convincing manner and is interesting as being one of the first efforts in England to present the facts upon which the story is based. It is valuable to the student of *Werter* today.

No other English work dealing with *Werter* appeared until the year 1846, when *Fraser's Magazine* published anonymously a short story, *The New Werter*.<sup>4</sup> This consists of seven chapters, with a prologue and epilogue, and tells how young Friedrich, a student at the University of Bonn, being ridiculed by his fellow-students because he was not in love, endeavors to find an object for his affections. Attracted to Colombe von Ilmenau, the daughter of a distinguished lover of aesthetics, he tries to win her hand. Her father, however, refuses to give his consent, and Friedrich makes two unsuccessful attempts at suicide.

The story is related to Goethe's novel only in the external characteristics of the hero, Friedrich, a sentimental and disappointed lover, who eventually determines to commit suicide. While the author intends that his story should convey a moral, he also means to satirize the end of the novel by having Friedrich attempt suicide twice unsuccessfully. The methods employed bear evidence of an attempt at wit. Judged, however, as a literary product, this work contains little of permanent interest.

In America, besides the contribution of a short and meaningless anecdote, *Charlotte and Werter*, to the *New York Mirror and Ladies Literary Gazette* in 1823,<sup>5</sup> interest in *Werter* was manifested in two publications of unusual character. The first, *The Sorrows of Skwerter*,

<sup>1</sup> Letter X, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm Herbst, *Goethe in Wetzlar*, Gotha, 1881; Eugen Wolff, *Blätter aus dem Werther-Kreis*, Breslau, 1894.

<sup>4</sup> XXXIV, 536-50.

<sup>5</sup> I, 14.

by L. A. Wilmer,<sup>1</sup> appeared in the *Casket* in 1838.<sup>2</sup> This is a coarse satire, in seven chapters. Skwerter is the son of a "respectable widow-lady" and innkeeper of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. After unsatisfactory service in his mother's inn he is transferred to his uncle's business in Philadelphia, in which city he meets Charlotte Gruff, the daughter of the town bailiff. On learning of her engagement to Albert Sharp, a bank clerk, Skwerter becomes despondent and resolves to commit suicide. The attempt is unsuccessful, however, and he returns to Lancaster to take charge of the inn of his mother, now deceased. The author closes by stating that Charlotte and Albert lived to a good old age and that from one of their children, Miss Annabelle Sharp, a spinster of thirty-five, he had received the material for his story.

This is by no means the work of a finished satirist. The author's main purpose is to parody in the most absurd way certain incidents in the novel and to present Goethe's hero in the most ridiculous light. Although the story is coarse and scarcely readable, it has its interest in the history of the *Wertheriaden*, inasmuch as it is the only attempt either in England or America to satirize Goethe's novel.

The second composition, *Werter's Warning*, appeared at Boston in 1841 in a volume of *Miniature Romances from the German*.<sup>3</sup> The author gives us an antidote in the form of a dialogue between Werter and Genius, in which Werter is warned against yielding to passion and against his relations with Charlotte. A brief criticism of Goethe's novel, which recognizes its "pathos and intellectual power," but warns against its "want of principle and its insidious example," is added.

As has been shown, most of these works inspired by *Werter* appeared between 1784 and the end of the eighteenth century. Although the enthusiasm for the book seems to have decreased by 1800, the fact that several poems and works of miscellaneous character appeared later shows that its influence was still felt during the

<sup>1</sup> Lambert A. Wilmer (1805-63) was a prominent journalist, known chiefly as the editor of the *Baltimore Saturday Visitor*, and later the *Philadelphia Pennsylvanian*. He was also the author of *Our Pressgang*, and was a frequent contributor to Atkinson's *Casket*, published in Philadelphia. Cf. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of Amer. Biog.* VI.

<sup>2</sup> XIII, 449-55.

<sup>3</sup> *Miniature Romances from the German*, pp. 249-56.

first half of the nineteenth century. None of these works are of permanent literary value; all of them breathe that extreme sentimentalism so generally prevalent in both England and America during the latter part of the eighteenth century. But they illustrate well the wonderful impression that Goethe's *Werter* made upon a certain class of readers.

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## LAURENCE STERNE AND CHARLES NODIER

That Charles Nodier was a great admirer of Sterne<sup>1</sup> is quite evident from even a casual reading of his works. His first literary composition<sup>2</sup> shows unmistakable traces of Shandyism, and his subsequent writings—like the early novels of Balzac—are sprinkled with frequent allusions to incidents and characters in *Tristram*. Nor is direct praise of Sterne wanting. "Avez-vous lu Montaigne, Charron, Rabelais, et Sterne?" asks Nodier. "Si vous ne les avez pas lus, lisez-les. Si vous les avez lus, il faut les relire."<sup>3</sup> In *les Proscrits* Sterne is listed among the favorite books of Frantz along with the Bible, Klopstock's *Messiah*, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Richardson, Rousseau, and *Werther*.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere Sterne is cited as a model for thoroughgoing, exhaustive satire:

Ce qui nous manque en France, ce n'est pas cette fine gaieté de l'esprit qui effleure en passant, avec l'adresse de l'à-propos, un ridicule superficiel, nous en avons à revendre. C'est cette ironie pénétrante et profonde qui fouille et creuse autour de lui, et qui ne se lasse de l'ébranler sur ses racines que lorsqu'elle l'a extirpé. Voyez Cervantes, voyez Butler, voyez Swift, voyez Sterne: ces gens-là ne se contentent pas d'émonder *luxuriam foliorum*; ils sapent l'arbre et le jettent mort sur la terre, sans semences et sans rejetons.<sup>5</sup>

Such frequent reference to Sterne and to his writings indicates that the English humorist had strongly impressed Nodier, but it does not necessarily point to a direct influence. Nodier was likewise a great admirer of Rabelais and is said to have copied three times by hand *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua* in order to discover if possible the secret of Rabelais' style. Now, it will be remembered that the

For the influence of Sterne in France during the eighteenth century, see the author's *Etude sur l'influence de Laurence Sterne en France au dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, Hachette, 1911.

<sup>1</sup> *Moi-Même*, written when Nodier was nineteen. The manuscript is at the Library of Besançon. M. Georges Gazier, conservateur of that library, has published an extract of eleven pages, entitled: *Un Manuscrit autobiographique de Charles Nodier*, Besançon, Dodivers, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> *Moi-Même*. Cited by M. Salomon in his *Charles Nodier et le Groupe romantique*, Paris, Perrin, 1908, pp. 22-24.

<sup>3</sup> *Nouvelles*, Paris, Charpentier, 1898, p. 21. *Les Proscrits* first appeared in 1802.

<sup>4</sup> *Voyage pittoresque et industriel dans le Paraguay-Roux et la Paléogénésie australe*, in *Nouvelles*, p. 381.



boisterous fun of Sterne is not only markedly similar to that of Rabelais, but is in many cases actually an adaptation of it. Hence it becomes hazardous for the critic to assert that such and such a passage which smacks seemingly of Yorick's style is inspired—if inspired at all—by Sterne rather than by the Curé of Meudon. It is interesting, in this connection, to note Nodier's opinion of the two humorists, as indicative of those characteristics of their writings which most strongly impressed him:

La gaieté de Rabelais est celle d'un enfant turbulent qui brise ses jouets les plus précieux pour en mettre les ressorts à nu. La gaieté de Sterne est celle d'un barbon un peu morose qui s'amuse à faire jouer des pantins. Ce qui domine dans Rabelais, c'est une hilarité effrénée. . . . Ce qui domine dans Sterne, c'est un sentiment amer des déceptions de l'âme, qui se manifeste tour à tour par des rires ou par des larmes, et sous l'expansion duquel on devine toujours les tortures poignantes de quelque angoisse déguisée. . . . Rabelais a voulu se mettre tout à fait en dehors du monde connu pour se donner le droit d'en juger avec une liberté sans bornes. . . . Sterne a cherché à s'en éloigner dans le sens opposé, en se réfugiant dans le centre le plus obscur de la vie intérieure. . . . On croirait que Rabelais a entrepris de se faire pardonner la vérité mordante de ses satires par l'attrait de ses mensonges. On croirait que Sterne a entrepris de se faire pardonner le mensonge innocent de sa fiction par l'attrait de ses vérités.<sup>1</sup>

Not only did Nodier admire Sterne and Rabelais, but he also resembled them not a little, both in mind and in temperament. He possessed a rare genius for conversation, as Ste.-Beuve, Musset, Hugo, and other privileged guests at the *soirées* at the Arsenal Library could all attest. He was the life of every gathering, telling stories, discussing various phases of the literary movement, never happier than when interrupted by a question, and never wittier "than between two parentheses."<sup>2</sup> As he talked, so often did he write. Wonder not then at the charming digressions of the *Souvenirs de Jeunesse*: he has so many, many things to tell you that his pen runs away with him.

Nodier is also a dreamer of dreams, sometimes kindly, sentimental rhapsodies, more often amazing excursions into the realm of the fantastic, as the wonderful adventures of Michel in the *Fée*

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellanees*, in *Œuvres de Nodier*, Paris, Renduel, 1832-41, Vol. V, pp. 16-21.

<sup>2</sup> Jules Janin, Preface to Nodier's *Franciscus Columna*, Paris, Techener, 1844.

*aux miettes*, or the unnamable visions in *Smarra*. His fertile imagination is capable of inventing the wildest extravagances without seeking outside inspiration or example.

A keen satirist, Nodier has yet too kind a heart to hurl poisoned darts. As in the case of Sterne, his unkindest remarks are softened by the brightness of a smile or the glistening of a tear. Nodier's tears, though, are always sincere:

Je voudrais que ceux qui ont fait souffrir les autres souffrissent une fois tout ce qu'ils ont fait souffrir. . . . Je voudrais que cette impression fût déchirante, et profonde, et atroce, et irrésistible. . . . Je voudrais cependant qu'elle durât peu, et qu'elle finît avec un rêve.<sup>1</sup>

One feels throughout all of Nodier's writings something like a regret that all may not be happy, a bitterness born of discontent with society and of the recognition of one's inability to effect any change therein that is absent from Sterne's pages. No one has yet ventured to accuse Yorick of being altruistic.

Bearing in mind the foregoing observations, namely, that Nodier was an admirer of both Sterne and Rabelais and that he possessed at least some traits of mind and temperament in common with them both, let us now consider certain portions of his work that may reveal a Shandyan influence.

*L'Histoire du Roi de Bohême et de ses sept châteaux*<sup>2</sup> is, in the author's own words, "another poor imitation of the innumerable imitations of Sterne and Rabelais." An imitation the work certainly is, at times almost a copy, but scattered throughout the chaos of its digressions and extravagances emerge several episodes charmingly told, and an abundance of delightful humor.

To analyze the book is impossible. The title is that of the story that Corporal Trim thrice essays to relate to Uncle Toby, without ever getting beyond the first sentence.<sup>3</sup> Nodier fares little better. He conceives himself as being composed of three separate persons,<sup>4</sup> Théodore, the kindly dreamer; Breloque, all verve and enthusiasm; and Don Pic de Fanferluchio, who represents science, or rather a

<sup>1</sup> *Les Aveugles de Chamouny*, in *Contes de la veillée*, Paris, Charpentier, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, Delangle, 1830.

<sup>3</sup> *Tristram Shandy*, Vol. VIII, chap. xix.

<sup>4</sup> This idea had already been used by Gorgy in his *Nouveau Voyage sentimental*, Paris, Bastien, 1784.

rubbing of Greek, Latin, etymologies, dates, and paradoxes, labeled erudition. Of course, these gentlemen differ in importance, their proportionate value being: "Théodore, my imagination, no parts; Don Pic, my memory, one part; Breloque, my judgment, nine hundred and ninety-nine parts."

These worthies, each mounted upon his favorite hobbyhorse, set out for the domains of the king of Bohemia, but are straightway carried away by their ungovernable steeds, who bolt so often and to such good effect that, after having covered many leagues, the sturdy travelers find themselves exactly where they were at the beginning. It is useless to follow them into this intricate maze of hurry-scurryings and crisscrossings through realms that even Sterne and even Rabelais never visited. Every whim, every pet aversion, every opinion concerning men, language, or affairs that happened to be fitting through the writer's fecund imagination is here set down in or out of place. Every trick of style, every typographical absurdity that Rabelais or Sterne had invented or borrowed is here to be found, together with many another for which Nodier alone is responsible. The carrying of the tale into the domain of the fantastic and some elements of fun resemble Rabelais, but a goodly portion of the by-play is in Shandyan vein. There are nine pages devoted to lists of birds and insects. There are interrupted sentences, sentences without beginning or ending, sentences composed of words having similar final syllables. There is an imitation of the arrival of a cab that recalls Sterne's imitation of a violin.<sup>1</sup> There is a eulogy on a slipper, together with a list of the various kinds of slippers, that bespeaks a knowledge of Tristram's digression on the same subject.<sup>2</sup> There are discussions between learned doctors on trivial subjects in which the phraseology is pedantic or technical to an absurd degree. There is a newspaper notice inserted in the midst of the reading-matter. The title-page is well along toward the center of the book. There is an excessive use of blank pages, of lines printed upside down or in small capitals. There are remarks exchanged with the reader concerning the progress of the story and the author's skill in handling it. There are frequent apostrophes to Nodier's sweethearts, past and present. There are passages that begin with a tear and end with a laugh.

<sup>1</sup> *Tristram Shandy*, Vol. V, chap. xv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, chap. xix.

Scattered throughout this mass of divagations and more or less amusing eccentricities of composition is the story of the *Aveugles de Chamouny*,<sup>1</sup> served piecemeal to the reader, as are the love affairs of Uncle Toby and the Widow Wadman in *Tristram Shandy*. This tale concerns a blind boy whose misery is augmented by the fact that a blind girl whom he was to marry unexpectedly recovers her sight and deserts him. When Gervais learns that Eulalie has strayed far from the narrow path of virtue, he plunges over a precipice into a roaring torrent. The story, well told, as are all of Nodier's *contes*, resembles somewhat in the presentation the incident of *Maria of Moulins*. Nodier comes across the blind Gervais sitting alone beside a country path, as Mr. Shandy and later Yorick saw Maria. His sympathy is at once aroused. He seats himself beside the unfortunate boy, learns the history of his unhappy love, and how even his dog has left him—just as Maria's goat had abandoned her before Yorick happened by. Hands seek each other, tears of sympathy fall, and with a parting exhortation to be of good cheer this new sentimental traveler goes on his way. Here the resemblance ends. Nodier's ending is romantic, whereas the sentiment is rather akin to that all-too-serious moping over the sufferings of humanity brought into vogue by Rousseau and exaggerated *ad absurdum* by the Marmontels, Lespinasses, and Vernes of the late eighteenth century.

Moreover, it seems fairly probable that Nodier wrote this sentimental tale, not from any admiration for the genre, but rather as a criticism of it, for he sets over against this story another about a dog who loses his life saving a child from a wolf, a tale as simple, as perfect, as devoid of unnecessary ornamentation as any of the *contes* of Perrault. To bring out the contrast between the two styles, Nodier introduces a discussion between Don Pic and Breloque on this subject, in which Breloque (Nodier's judgment) champions the second story. In the *Aveugles de Chamouny*, he concludes, we have "de l'affection pour de la grace, du sentiment pour du tendre, de la déclamation pour de l'éloquence, du commun pour du naïf," whereas the style of the *Chien de Brisquet* is "ni pittoresque, ni

<sup>1</sup> This theme was popular at the time. It had been treated by Pierre Blanchard in *le Bêveur sentimental*, Paris, Le Prieur, 1796, and by F. Vernes in *les deux Aveugles de Franconville*, a one-act comedy in prose, 1807.

romantique, ni poétique, ni oratoire; mais ce qu'il doit être, clair, simple, expressif, approprié aux personnes et aux choses, intelligible à tous les esprits, et par conséquent essentiellement convenable." This seems to establish rather definitely Nodier's attitude toward eighteenth-century sentimentality.<sup>1</sup>

The story of Gervais and Eulalie is not the only episode of this kind in Nodier. His first tale, *les Proscrits*,<sup>2</sup> a somber imitation of *Werther*, contains an account of the writer's meeting with a poor deranged boy, Frantz,<sup>3</sup> which recalls still more distinctly the encounter of Sterne and Maria. The philosophy of the passage is that of Rousseau (and be it said in passing that the great vogue of the *Sentimental Journey* in France was due in no small measure to the popularity of Rousseau's theories), but the setting was certainly inspired by Sterne's little masterpiece. Nodier's sentimental wanderer has encountered, in a secluded nook near a streamlet, a young man of some twenty-five years, whose fine, noble face bears the blight of long years of sorrow. The two men are instinctively drawn to each other:

Nous faisons tous les deux un mouvement involontaire l'un vers l'autre, pour nous embrasser. Une réflexion rapide repoussa ce mouvement en nous-mêmes. Chez moi cette réflexion tenait aux bienséances du monde; chez Frantz, elle était produite, peut-être, par la défiance du malheur.

Je m'assis à ses côtés. Je le regardai avec intérêt et je répétai ses paroles avec effusion.

Plus de repos, plus de bonheur.

Jamais, répondit Frantz. . . .

J'ai beaucoup souffert, reprit-il, en croisant ses mains sur sa poitrine gonflée et en soulevant lentement ses paupières: j'ai vécu dans les villes, et les plaisirs qu'on y achète à si haut prix ne sont que de hideux squelettes sous des habits somptueux. J'en ai cherché d'autres dans mon cœur, mais mon cœur était simple et confiant, et mon cœur a été trahi. . . .

L'amour! . . . Il prononça ce mot avec un soupir; sa figure s'anima, ses yeux s'égarèrent, ses muscles étaient crispés, et sa voix s'éteignit dans les sanglots.

Et l'amitié? dis-je, en posant ma main sur mon cœur, qui battait avec précipitation. . . .

<sup>1</sup> The author may also have had in mind his earlier novels of the *Werther* type. Nodier frequently belittled his own achievements.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, Lepetit jeune, 1802.

<sup>3</sup> Named "Lovely" in the first edition.

Reste-t-il des amis à ceux qui souffrent ? dit Frantz.

Oh ! si j'avais été son ami !<sup>1</sup>

Je l'étais déjà ! Frantz laissa tomber sur ma main une larme brûlante. Nous nous étions entendus, et nous n'avions plus rien à nous apprendre.<sup>2</sup>

Whether there is any real influence of Sterne in Nodier's portrait of Sir Robert Grove in *Amélie*<sup>3</sup> I am not quite sure. Ste.-Beuve remarks in this connection that it would be impossible to touch such a portrait à la Sterne "with a more pleasing, or, one might say, more affectionate irony."<sup>4</sup> Yet Grove is not a creation of Nodier, but, according to Francis Wey<sup>5</sup> and others, a portrait, only slightly softened, of Herbert Croft,<sup>6</sup> an English baronet, whom Nodier served as secretary. Several traits in the picture, however, are decidedly reminiscent of Uncle Toby, so much so, indeed, that Nodier himself alludes to this resemblance in the course of the description. In view of these facts I am inclined to think that Sterne may at least have suggested to the French author how to make his portrayal of Sir Robert most effective.

Grove is a kindly old savant whose hobby is the study of the classics and in particular the preparation of an edition of *Pindar*. His constant attendant and servant is a Welsh giant named Jonathas, heartily devoted to the old gentleman and quick to anticipate his every whim. When not absorbed by his researches, in which he takes an amusingly naïve interest, Sir Robert is railing against the Catholics or dreaming of some new invention to add to the numerous articles of his devising that adorn his study. A mingling of pedantry and erudition, of simplicity and eccentricity, he interests us above all by his lovable nature:

Plus boudeur au moindre nuage qu'une petite fille dont on a brisé la poupée; revenu à la moindre marque de déférence ou de tendresse et faisant toujours les frais du raccommodement, en accordant plus qu'on ne lui demandait. . . . Je le vois, dis-je, frappant des mains à mon entrée et

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sentimental Journey*, chapter entitled "Maria": "And wast thou in my land where I have a cottage?" etc. Other passages of this incident parallel closely Sterne's narrative.

<sup>2</sup> *Nouvelles*, pp. 12-15.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Souvenirs de Jeunesse*, Paris, Charpentier, 1893.

<sup>4</sup> *Portraits littéraires*, Paris, Garnier, Vol. I, p. 446.

<sup>5</sup> *Vie de Charles Nodier*, Paris, Techener, 1844.

<sup>6</sup> Croft was something of a savant. Among his works are: *Dictionnaire critique des difficultés de la langue française* and *Horace éclairci par la ponctuation*.

m'accueillant d'un regard aussi bienveillant que celui de mon père. Je vois sa noble figure, plus que sexagénaire, mais fraîche, épanouie, vermeille, adolescente d'imagination et de pensées, et son vaste front chauve, blanc et poli comme l'ivoire, autour duquel se roulaient en boucles des cheveux d'un blond doré, qui auraient fait honneur à un bachelier; car la nature avait pris plaisir à laisser à son vieil âge des vestiges de jeunesse, comme elle en avait laissé à son âme.

It required no great perspicacity to tell when he was worried:

Cette disposition de l'esprit se révélait en lui par trois symptômes invariables, un regard triste et vertical qui s'attachait pensivement au plafond, un soupir à peine entendu qui s'élevait lentement en suivant la même ligne ascensionnelle, et un léger sifflement, ou plutôt une modulation presque insaisissable du souffle qu'aurait cent fois couvert le lila burello de mon oncle Tobie. . . . Hélas, ce serait bien malgré moi qu'une légère ombre de ridicule obscurcirait ces détails d'intérieur philosophique! . . . Ce qui faisait sourire l'esprit dans les innocentes manies du chevalier faisait en même temps pleurer l'âme.<sup>1</sup>

Further touches are given to the portrait here and there during the story. Of these the following incident contains perhaps the best, showing, as it does, the sympathetic way in which Nodier handles an episode that Sterne would doubtless have concluded by some extravagant jest. Sir Robert has discovered the unfortunate love of Maxime for Amélie, a young girl who has aided them in the preparation of the edition of *Pindare*. Sir Robert is speaking:

Suis-je assez fort maintenant pour te retenir sur le bord de l'abîme où je vous ai poussés tous les deux, moi, le plus coupable de nous trois? Oh, que la foudre anéantisse tout ce qui reste de Pindare, sans en excepter mon bel exemplaire de l'édition de Calliergi! Malédiction sur Pindare, sur Calliergi et sur moi!

Le *Pindare* de Calliergi? dit Jonathas, en se penchant à l'oreille de son maître.

Je n'en ai pas besoin, tendre et obéissant Goliath, répliqua le chevalier, qui tournait en même temps un regard affectueux sur le Gallois attentif. Je n'en ai pas besoin du *Pindare* de Calliergi. Je ne veux jamais le revoir. Et cependant, il ferait encore le bonheur de mes yeux, si j'avais trouvé dans l'âme d'un fils de mon choix (Maxime) . . . la soumission résignée de ton âme de sauvage.

Alors Jonathas avait compris qu'il ne s'agissait plus du *Pindare* de Calliergi et il n'avait compris que cela.

Le chevalier nous regarda tous les deux, et il se mit à pleurer.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Soutenirs de Jeunesse*, pp. 107-11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51.



Here are the same elements that make up Toby's character: smiles, tears, foibles. Yet how the personality of the two writers differentiates the pictures! I can imagine Sterne, lavish alike of humor and sentiment, conscious of his own importance, exclaiming to Toby: "Brother Shandy, I can't help loving you for your sincerity and for your goodness of heart, but what a fool you are!" Whereas the kindly, genial man that was Charles Nodier exclaims: "Sir Robert, I may smile at your eccentricities, but you are the most excellent man that divine goodness has ever created."

These passages contain all that I have found in Nodier that may be termed sentimental, in the eighteenth-century acceptation of the word. Elsewhere—barring the fantastic tales and satirical pamphlets—a much more tragic note vibrates. Love of the most passionate kind, love that is stronger than death, that fears not horrid disease nor even suicide—such is the stuff of which most of his stories are made. The fact, then, that each one of these digressions from the author's habitual Wertherism or romanticism not only recalls the manner of Yorick, but is accompanied also by a direct reference or by a direct tribute to Sterne, becomes, to say the least, significant.

But it was the haphazard style, the effervescent gaiety, and the keen raillery of *Tristram*, rather than the effusions of the *Sentimental Journey*, that appealed particularly to Nodier and made the most noticeable impression upon his style. All of his articles in lighter vein—*les Marionnettes*, *le Voyage dans le Paraguay-Roux*, *Leviathan le Long*, *Hurlubieu*, *le Bibliomane*, *Polichinelle*,<sup>1</sup> and parts of the *Fée aux miettes*<sup>2</sup>—are sprinkled with whimsical sallies and by-play of the sort that we have already noted in speaking of the *Roi de Bohême*, with here and there passages of a more subtle humor. The settings—usually in some imaginary country or planet—and, on the whole, the style, recall Rabelais rather more than Sterne, but there are frequent witty *gambades*, fanciful musings, and many a keen thrust that only Tristram could have suggested. The following citation speaks for itself:

Moi qui écris péniblement ceci d'après les manuscrits de Berniquet, trois heures du matin sonnant d'horloge en horloge, et à la mourante lueur

<sup>1</sup> The first four of these articles will be found in *Nouvelles*. *Le Bibliomane* and *Polichinelle* are in the *Contes de la veillée*.

<sup>2</sup> First published, Paris, Renduel, 1832; in the *Contes fantastiques*, Paris, Charpentier, 1904.

d'une huile dont mon épicier réclame le prix avec des instances malhonnêtes, je sens la plume échapper de mes doigts. Je m'endors.

—Et vous madame?<sup>1</sup>

Frequently Nodier takes the reader into his confidence, telling him how many chapters are still due him or how little merit the author possesses. For instance, in the *Marionnettes*, he advises him to read Peignot's article on *Jacquemard*:

Il y gagnera deux choses: la première, c'est le plaisir de lire un des charmants petits écrits de M. Peignot; la seconde, c'est de pouvoir se dispenser très-parfaitement de lire le mien. Je ne vois même aucun inconvénient à ce qu'il ne lise ni l'un ni l'autre.<sup>2</sup>

Elsewhere:

Nous sommes, *Polichinelle* et moi, les deux membres d'une équation. On écrirait volontiers: POLICHINELLE  $\times$  son compère = NÉOPHOBUS (Nodier) et réciproquement. Je ne me suis jamais informé de ce qu'en pense *Polichinelle*, mais cette solidarité m'épouvante.<sup>3</sup>

But by far the cleverest passages of all are to be found in the opening and closing chapters of the *Fée aux miettes*. Nowhere has Nodier written with a vivacity, a wittiness, and a verve more like Sterne's, and nowhere is his imitation freer from the taint of borrowing. The use of gestures is especially noteworthy.<sup>4</sup> Take, for instance, the following passage:

—Non! sur l'honneur, m'écriai-je en lançant à vingt pas le malencontreux volume. . . .

C'était cependant un *Tite-Live* d'Elzevir relié par Padeloup.

—Non! je n'usurai plus mon intelligence et ma mémoire à ces détestables sornettes! Non! continuai-je en appuyant solidement mes pantoufles contre mes chenets, comme pour prendre acte de ma volonté, il ne sera pas dit qu'un homme de sens ait vieilli sur les sottes gazettes de ce Padouan crédule, bavard et menteur, tant que les domaines de l'imagination et du sentiment lui étaient encore ouverts!

O fantaisie! continuai-je avec élan. . . . Mère des fables riantes, des génies et des fées! enchanteresse aux brillants mensonges, toi qui te balances

<sup>1</sup> *Nouvelles*, p. 345. Cf. also the Preface to the *Fée aux miettes*, in *Contes fantastiques*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Nouvelles*, p. 408.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 429.

<sup>4</sup> Other examples will be found in *l'Amour et le Grimoire* (in the *Nouvelles*) and scattered throughout most of the writings mentioned above. In fact, in all of his *contes* Nodier notes with considerable skill the gesture and the trivial detail that characterize a personage as nothing else can. It would be rash, however, to state that Nodier learned this art from Sterne, as both Richardson and Diderot—to mention but two names—were also past masters in it.

d'un pied léger sur les créneaux des vieilles tours, et qui t'égare au clair de la lune avec ton cortège d'illusions dans les domaines immenses de l'inconnu. . . .

Là-dessus, je m'arrêtai, parce que cette invocation menaçait de devenir longue: . . .

Je voudrais bien savoir, ajoutai-je en rejetant une de mes jambes sur l'autre, car il ne manquait plus rien dès lors à la forme de cette protestation sacramentelle. . . .

Je voudrais bien savoir . . . puisque la grande moitié du monde connu croit fermement aux allocutions de l'âne de Balaam et du pigeon de Mahomet . . . messieurs, quelles objections vous avez contre les succès oratoires du *Chat botté*. . . .

L'histoire et les historiens! Malédiction sur elle et sur eux! je prends Urgande à témoin que je trouve mille fois plus de crédibilité aux illusions des lunatiques! . . .

—Les lunatiques! interrompit Daniel Cameron, que j'avais oublié derrière mon fauteuil, où il attendait debout, dans une attitude patiente et respectueuse, le moment de me passer ma redingote. Les lunatiques, monsieur! Il y en a une superbe maison à Glasgow.<sup>1</sup>

Let us mention finally two instances of direct borrowing. The story of *M. de la Mettrie*<sup>2</sup> contains an almost literal translation of the musings of Widow Wadman concerning the wound of Uncle Toby, and the *Dernier Chapitre de mon roman*<sup>3</sup> a licentious adaptation of the final episode of the *Sentimental Journey*.

To sum up: how much real influence of Sterne do we find in Nodier? In his short stories and novels, barring the two or three passages cited, practically none. In almost all of his works in lighter vein, a decidedly appreciable influence. This influence is not confined to any one period of the author's life, for he wrote *Moi-Même* when a mere youth, and he excuses himself in a sort of humorous way for having perpetrated the *Roi de Bohême* when he was almost old. Whenever he wrote for his own amusement, or when he wished to let fly a dart at *Messieurs les savants*, he donned his fool's cap, bethought himself of Sterne or of Rabelais, and endeavored to outdo them both. Nodier himself did not esteem highly his efforts as a buffoon, and in truth they do not count seriously in our final judgment

<sup>1</sup> *Contes fantastiques*, pp. 79-81.

<sup>2</sup> *Contes de la veillée*, p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, Cavanagh, 1803. One will also find in this story many of Tristram's tricks of style.

of him. Yet these productions are not without merit. The *Roi de Bohême*, it is true, is hardly more than a *tour de force*, and aside from the two short stories contained in it, which are often reprinted separately, is no longer read; but several of the amusing satires are still found in collections of children's stories—the fate of *Gulliver*—and the *Fée aux miettes* is one of the most charming productions of Nodier's fancy.

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## SOME EVIDENCE FOR EARLY ROMANTIC PLAYS IN ENGLAND<sup>1</sup>

### I

In a review of Chambers' *Mediaeval Stage* in the *Scottish Historical Review*,<sup>2</sup> Miss Bateson has noted that the London chronicle found in manuscript E. 5. 9 of Trinity College, Dublin, records the performance of plays of "Eglemour and Degrebelle" and of "a knight cleped fllorence" near London in 1444. Miss Bateson's is, I believe, the first notice of these plays, and, so far as I know, the significance of the discovery has not yet been discussed. A record, however, of two English plays before 1450 apparently dealing with secular romantic themes seems to me a matter of more than passing interest to students of the early drama.

The chronicle referred to has recently been published by Ralph Flenley in *Six Town Chronicles of England*. Flenley points out<sup>3</sup> that the manuscript, which gives no hint as to authorship, is clearly identical with one described in some detail by John Bale in the 1557 edition of his *Catalogus* and there ascribed to Robert Bale. John Bale mentions this manuscript as one of many works left by him when he fled from Ireland after the accession of Mary. The chronicle as printed covers the years 16-38 of Henry VI's reign, or 1437-60, and, as Flenley shows, from 1439 on gives every indication of being a contemporary and independent account of the events recorded.

Bale's only notice of plays is in two successive entries under 22 Henry VI (1443-44):<sup>4</sup>

Item this yer was at seint albons the last of Juyn a play of Eglemour and Degrebelle.

Item the moneth of August was a play at Bermansey of a knight cleped fllorence.

<sup>1</sup> In this paper the term "romantic" is used in a rather broad sense to include forms of plays that might better be called romanesque, and the terms "folk" and "popular" are often applied to what had a vogue among classes of people not controlled by the critical standards of their age.

I am indebted to Professors Manly and Nitze for some valuable references and suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> I, 405, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 67 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles*, p. 117.

It seems clear, as Flenley points out in a footnote, that the first play is a version of the romance of *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, Eglamour having a son named Degrabell. In regard to *A knight cleped florence*, Miss Bateson queries, "Was this that Florent or Flormond of Albanye whose romance is named in the Complaynte of Scotland?" For two reasons the identification seems questionable. The name in the old French romances is "Florimont,"<sup>1</sup> and in *The Complaynt of Scotland*, about 1548, "Floremond of Albanye." Evidence for the form "Florent" is apparently lacking except in the phrase "great Florent of Albanie" in *Roswall and Lillian*, 1663, which comes more than two centuries after Bale's record of the play and may represent a corruption of the name, as other names in this late romance appear to have been corrupted. In the second place, if the play was drawn from the romance suggested by Miss Bateson, we should expect, I think, the descriptive "of Albanye" in Bale's record. On the ground that from Florice or Florian to Florence "is not a far cry for a fifteenth century writer," Flenley conjectures that the second play is a version of "Florice et Blanchfleur." As a matter of fact, the form "Florence" does occur in this very romance. The Trentham MS<sup>2</sup> about 1440 has *Florence and Blancheffloure* as a title in the headlines, though the name used in the story is usually Floris and only occasionally Florence. This is the only romance known to me in which Florence rather than Florent is employed as the masculine form of the name, but the point is probably without value since both Florent and Florence would be natural forms of the French word. Moreover, the story of Floris and Blauncheffur seems to have been one of the romantic themes dramatized early in Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the hero and heroine are so commonly associated in the titles of the various versions of this romance that the presumption seems to me against Bale's omitting Blauncheffur's name if the play at Bermondsey had been founded on the story of Floris and Blauncheffur.

Another possible source of the play is the romance of *Octavian*. Octavian's wife is named Florence and one of his twin sons Florent.

<sup>1</sup> Ward, *Cat. Romances*, I, 156-60.

<sup>2</sup> EETS, XIV (1901).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, 330, for an Italian play; I, 373, for a play in the Netherlands in 1483; and III, 424, for Hans Sachs's play.

A play founded on this tale, especially if the part of the son Florent were emphasized, might well be called simply the play of "a knight cleped florence." A version of the romance is found in the same fifteenth-century manuscript<sup>1</sup> with one of the early versions of *Sir Eglamour of Artois*. The Octavian story is like *Eglamour* in the main conventions—of a lady cast away, of sons carried off as babes by monsters or beasts, of the sons' glorious career in knighthood, and of the final reunion of the family. With different names for the characters, the story was dramatized in the fourteenth-century French *Miracle de Notre Dame* (XXXII of the Cangé MS) called *Le Roi Thierry et Osanne*, and the popularity of such motives in English plays is amply attested. The "Play of Placidus,"<sup>2</sup> acted at Braintree in 1534, and the later *Fair Constance of Rome*, in two parts, written for Henslowe in 1600–1601, must have followed the same romance conventions,<sup>3</sup> while the immensely popular *Pericles* of the late sixteenth century is similar to these legends, with a daughter substituted for a son. Separate motives of the story occur repeatedly, of course, in the Elizabethan drama.

But if Bale was giving the exact title of the play rather than his own statement of its theme, the most probable source, to my mind, is the "Tale of Florent" in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.<sup>4</sup> According to Gower's description, the hero is simply a "worthi knyht," nephew of an unnamed emperor, and "Florent he hihte." The title used by Bale may have been drawn from Gower's phrase. There is at least no other character in the tale who would naturally be associated with Florent in a title. Not only was Gower's work well known in the fifteenth century, but this particular story—most familiar to us through Chaucer's *Tale of the Wyf of Bathe* and *The Marriage of Sir Gawaine*—was one of the most popular mediaeval

<sup>1</sup> Caligula A II. Cf. Ward, *Cat. Romances*, I, 762, and Weber, *Metrical Romances*, III, 157–239.

<sup>2</sup> Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, II, 342.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gerould, "The Eustace Legend," *Mod. Lang. Publ.*, XII (1904), 436 ff. The Constance saga was dramatized in No. XXIX of the Cangé MS, *La Fille du Roi de Hongrie*. Gerould makes the adventures of the wives in *Sir Eglamour of Artois* and Octavian versions of the "Calumniated Wife" motive (most widely known to English students through the Constance saga), and the adventures of the son or sons in both direct derivatives from the Eustace, or Placidus, legend. He considers the Apollonius story unrelated to these (p. 340).

<sup>4</sup> Book I, ll. 1407 ff.



stories in England. Shakspeare in the line from *The Taming of the Shrew* (I, 2, 69),

Be she as foul as was Florentius' love,

must be glancing at a version of Gower's form of the story. That the tale could readily be dramatized is shown by the fact that Fletcher in *Women Pleased* successfully used it as given by Chaucer.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the nature of the plays mentioned by Bale, Flenley says that they "would seem to be mediaeval romances" and "strictly speaking were not plays at all." His discussion shows that he takes them to be minstrel recitals. It is possible that these performances were dramatic recitals of the romances, such as I conceive the performance before the Scottish king in 1497 to have been, when "twa fithelaris . . . Sang Gray Steil to the king";<sup>2</sup> but this does not seem probable. There is also a possibility that they were processions, or pageants, and represented some type of midsummer show such as is recorded at Chester, perhaps with speeches of presenters to give a semblance of the dramatic to the performance, as was often the case in pageants. But I see no reason why "play" as used by Bale at this period should not be taken to refer to an actual dramatic performance. *Eglamour and Degrebelle* and *A knight cleped fllorance* were probably regular plays for midsummer festivals, taking the place that the mysteries had held in so many of these festivals.

Before evidence is presented which seems to me to support this view, the possibility that the plays were not secular but were Miracles of the Virgin is to be considered. *A knight cleped fllorance* presented at Bermondsey in the "moneth of August" may have celebrated the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, August 15. The *Eglamour and Degrebelle* at St. Albans "the last of Juyn" was probably presented at the midsummer festival of St. John and St. Peter and perhaps under the auspices of some church. I have already referred to the dramatization of the Octavian theme in the Miracles de Notre Dame. Gower's tale could doubtless have been changed into a miracle as readily as a story of the Eglamour or Octavian type. But, to my mind, the significant thing is the dramatization of romances so early in the history of English drama, whatever moral tone may have been given to the ending. The material was secular and

<sup>1</sup> Fletcher's play, indeed, may have been based on an older one.

<sup>2</sup> Hales-Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, I, 342.

romantic, and, if a miracle of the Virgin was added, it probably affected the type of play no more than Dekker's moralization of *Old Fortunatus*.

## II

Evidence supporting the possibility of such romantic plays in England, both secular and miracle, as early as the fifteenth century may be drawn from continental literature. Dutch romantic and chivalric plays must have been fairly frequent in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Those of which we have record are especially worth mention because they are apparently independent of religious performance or motivation for their production. Three from the early part of the fifteenth century are extant—*Esmoreit*, *Gloriant*, and *Lanseloet*;<sup>1</sup> and records exist showing the performance of plays dealing with Arnoute, Ronchevale, Florys and Blanchefloor, and Grysselle.<sup>2</sup> For France, the plays of Adam de la Halle in the thirteenth century and the supposed play of *Robin et Marion* performed as part of an annual celebration at Angers in the fourteenth century<sup>3</sup> are noteworthy instances of early secular drama. The *Estoire de Griseldis*, belonging to the last decade of the fourteenth century, is another romantic drama that does not conform to the miracle type. The Miracles de Notre Dame, however, in the same century contain a number of romantic plays, and it is possible that in some of these we have merely the usual Christian turn given by the church to whatever had a hold on the people.<sup>4</sup> There was at

<sup>1</sup> Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, 367 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 373.

<sup>3</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 324, 325.

<sup>4</sup> A few early records may indicate a romantic drama. Such are the "ludus de quodam homine salvatico" at Padua in 1208, the play of the wild man in Aaran in 1339, the "ludus cum gigantibus" at Padua in 1224 (Creizenach, I, 378), and "la fieste des enfans Aymery de Narbonne" in Lille in 1351 (*ibid.*, p. 376). Whether there was anything more dramatic indicated by these records than the elaborate disguisings and processions of festival occasions, it would be impossible to say. It must be remembered in connection with such records and many others of festival celebrations to be noted later (1) that by the thirteenth century a very decided growth of a feeling for genuine drama which might readily extend to any popular motive is indicated by the expansion of biblical plays and the development of farce, and (2) that our knowledge of mediaeval pageantry and our lack of information about mediaeval plays may be due to a general attitude in the Middle Ages, surviving in the Renaissance, which even as late as the seventeenth century made English masques and pageants preferable to plays of the period as a subject of literary gossip and of chroniclers' records. Nichols' elaborate volumes, *The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* and *The Progresses of King James*, will bear me out, I believe. All that we can say with any assurance, however, is that the records referred to above indicate a very great age for some of the conventions met later in festival forms of disguising and play.

least small chance for the preservation of romantic plays not so adapted. But, whether miracles of this type imply an antecedent secular drama or not, they furnish important evidence that by the end of the fourteenth century a taste for romantic and chivalric tales in dramatic form had developed in portions of the Continent contiguous to England.

Further, the contact between the English people and the neighboring peoples of continental Europe must at least have been close enough to account for a common type of romantic drama as well as for common ballad and story types. From the time of the Crusades until the Reformation, the Catholic church made of Western Europe, in a certain sense, one community. Members of the clerical classes passed freely from one country to another, often residing for long periods in other countries than their own; and traveling scholars and priests were not always unmindful of the joys of song, dance, and drama. For the upper and middle classes pilgrimages to foreign shrines afforded means of contact with other peoples. Minstrels, too, were more or less cosmopolitan. And even at that time undoubtedly one of the most powerful agents for broadening provincial horizons was commerce. The numerous great fairs of England and continental Europe probably drew tradesmen from foreign parts at every period; and the merchant adventurers of England had communities in every busy foreign mart from early times. Long before the Reformation the jealousy of London tradesmen was aroused by the number of foreign workers in London. Caxton's supposed descent from Flemish settlers in England and his long residence in the Low Countries are well known to us merely because of Caxton's later fame. The vast number of English soldiers, gentlemen, and servants who had occasion to reside in France for long periods, and the lingering dominance of French culture in England until the end of the fifteenth century, need only to be mentioned. For some centuries before the Renaissance, contact of Englishmen of all classes with the customs and culture of the neighboring nations must have been intimate.

It would be strange, then, if such a drama-loving people as the English did not know every form of dramatic amusement popular on the Continent, and imitate all to some extent at least. Consequently, I see not the slightest need of explaining away Bale's use

of the word play. The existence of the fragment *Dux Moraud* may be taken as some indication that England had an early share in the continental movement. I have no doubt that other romantic plays besides those mentioned by Bale—perhaps earlier ones—existed in England, both secular plays and miracles.

Certainly there is evidence for an amount of dramatic activity in England before the Renaissance which, in comparison with the meager remains of the drama, makes it clear that much romantic drama could have existed without any specimen's surviving. Even the records of the religious drama have been poorly preserved, and no known manuscript fragment remains of the great passion plays of London, of the St. George plays acted all over England for a long period, or—except in *Dux Moraud*, probably a fragment of a Miracle of the Virgin—of the English miracles that must have existed in numbers for centuries. There is no indication that in the Middle Ages plays were regarded anywhere in Europe as literature for reading. Apparently the copies of plays preserved were, with few exceptions, manuscripts used by companies, gilds, etc., in connection with the actual performance of plays. Many such manuscripts preserved in church archives and many records of performances were probably destroyed by the Puritans, who would have been inclined to show little mercy to the romantic drama. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that conditions in the early Renaissance were more favorable to the preservation of romantic plays. Erasmus, Vives, Ascham, and other humanists have left expressions of their contempt for popular literature and for romances in particular.

How small a proportion of mediaeval drama has survived may be gathered from the records, meager as the records are themselves. Thus, rivalry in dramatic performance had developed fully enough in 1378 for the scholars of St. Paul's to petition Richard II "to prohibit some unexpert people from representing the History of the Old Testament, to the great prejudice of the said Clergy, who have been at great expence in order to represent it publicly at Christmas."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chambers, II, 380. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 190, for secular performances at Exeter in 1348, which were to be given "in Theatro nostrae Civitatis." Chambers considers this an allusion to a "regular theatre." Parish houses for entertainments were perhaps not unusual in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; cf. Hobhouse, *Church-Wardens' Accounts*, Somerset Record Soc., pp. xxi f. At Durham Priory in 1465 there was a room called "le Playerchambre" (Chambers, II, 244).

The records of Lydd and New Romney in Kent and the account book of Sir John Howard of Essex show that during the last three-quarters of the fifteenth century there were at least twenty different towns or villages in Kent and Essex with companies of players who traveled to some extent.<sup>1</sup> For the region of Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, the Maxstoke Priory accounts show payments sometime during the reign of Henry VI to "lusores" and "mimi" from the companies of six different noblemen and from a number of villages, including Coventry, for which there are six entries mentioning three different types of performers.<sup>2</sup> Between 1457 and 1467 the wardens of Harling, Norfolk, made payments for the "Lopham game," the "Garblesham game," and the "Kenningale game," and again to the "Kenyngale players."<sup>3</sup> If these regions were typical of the rest of England, it is fairly evident that in addition to gilds performing mysteries and moralities regularly in most large towns, there were companies of players in a great number of the smaller villages.

In the matter of positive evidence for the existence of romantic drama before the Renaissance, the records are very scattering, and are often confusing because of a looseness in the use of terms at the period when pageantry either was predominant or, on account of its occasional character, was noticed by chroniclers almost to the exclusion of drama. Early secular drama of which there is record seems to be have belonged to conventions and traditions in many cases centuries old and common to the various countries of Europe—traditions very largely those of pageantry, a subject which has been so ably studied by Chambers. It seems worth while, however, to present the case for the development of festival celebrations into the definite form of romantic drama with dialogue and plot before the rise of the romantic drama of Elizabeth's reign. My survey, then, will take the form of indicating the evidence for the persistence of certain conventional types in romantic drama, especially the types common to the traditions of England and France. The exact period

<sup>1</sup> Chambers, II, 255-56, 383, and 385-86.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 244-45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368. Game seems to be a favorite term for drama in this region. At Bungay, Suffolk, where biblical plays were established, we hear of the "game-book" in 1526, and of the "game gear" and "interlude and game booke" in 1558. At Yarmouth there was "a game played on Christmas day," 1493, and in 1538 a "game-house" for "interludes or plays" was erected (Chambers, II, 343, 399, 190, 191).

at which these various types arose cannot be determined, for the period at which they are found flourishing may be a late one in the actual history of the species, inasmuch as the evidence is often drawn from folk customs and traditions. So far as I can determine the order of their origin, there seems to have been some definite advance from (1) the simple song and wooing drama of May games and folk-festivals, in which pastourelle motives are frequent, to (2) the clerkly or literary eclogue drama as a supplement to the first type, and to (3) drama developed from other festival traditions of the people, till finally (4) love allegory and mythological motives took on dramatic form among the upper classes. Perhaps the metrical romance plays of the Low Countries in the fifteenth century and of England in the year 1444 are to be taken as indicating the extension of festival pageantry to include formal drama.

The first form of this mediaeval drama is found in the wooing song and May game. Probably long before we get definite evidence for romantic drama, popular dance songs for spring festivals had clear dramatic form both among the common people and among the upper classes.<sup>1</sup> From a fairly early time the pastourelle motives in wooing drama can be traced. Jeanroy<sup>2</sup> has given the evidence for the derivation of the pastourelles from folk dialogue songs, and has discussed the courtly dialogues of the type. In the *Tournois de Chauvenci* of the thirteenth century, there is a description of a courtly garland or wooing dance that was pure song drama.<sup>3</sup> The plays of Adam de la Halle are probably adaptations of this type of drama for

<sup>1</sup> Jeanroy and Gaston Paris cite the wooing pastorals of Theocritus in connection with the pastourelle dialogues. Vitruvius describes for his third kind of drama besides tragedy and comedy the type of setting that meets us all the way through mediaeval season festivals: "Satyricae vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus reliquisque agrestibus rebus in topiorum speciem deformatis" (Marsan, *La Pastorale Dramatique en France à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> et au commencement du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 2, n. 1). References to amatory songs in the church prohibitions of festival dance through the Dark Ages may be directed against wooing drama in the spring arbors. Cf., for instance, the quotations in Warren's "Romance Lyric," etc., *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXVI (1911), 280-314; and Chambers, *Med. Stage*, I, 161 ff. and 169 ff. The first records after the Dark Ages show the same customs, whether a continuation or a revival. The account of song and wooing dance given in *Ruodlieb*, VIII, 43-55, ca. 1000, furnishes a description very similar to those of later festival wooing songs that are song drama, though dialogue is not indicated in *Ruodlieb*. Jacobsen, *La Comédie en France au Moyen-Age*, 102 f., cites Papias' definition in the eleventh century of *Scaena* as "Umbraculum ubi postae recitabant," and presents a case for arbor drama in Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de la Feuillée*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au Moyen Age*. Cf. also Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1892, 155 ff. and 407 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Bédier, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 15, 1906, 402-6.



somewhat formal court presentation, but in the later *Robin et Marion* mentioned at Angers in 1392 as a yearly game or play of the people similar material in all likelihood reappeared in folk-form. The *Interludium de Clerico et Puella* seems to be an early English adaptation of the wooing drama to an intrigue plot. The similarity to popular song drama seen in the wooing element is emphasized by the use of the name Malkyn for the girl. Another early English specimen in pure dialogue but without names of the characters is preserved in the song, "My dep y loue, my lyf ich hate," found in Harleian MS 2253, dating from about 1300.<sup>1</sup> In 1447 a payment was made at York to "ij ludentibus Joly Wat and Malkyn."<sup>2</sup> This play was probably a song drama or short interlude dealing with pastoral lovers. Malkin is an English variant of Marion, and Wat may be either a survival of the shepherd Guatier met in *Robin et Marion* or an English substitute for Robin.<sup>3</sup> A milkmaid taking the place of the shepherdess of the pastourelles appears in a pure dialogue song probably as old as the fifteenth century at least, "Hey, trolly, lolly, lo; made, whether go you?"<sup>4</sup> Not only was this same song popular in the Elizabethan period,<sup>5</sup> but scores of versions have been collected in modern folk-songs, usually with echoes of the wording of the old dialogue. I have, indeed, two accounts of the performance of a version of the song as a dramatic dialogue in America in recent years.<sup>6</sup> Another song, probably of the fifteenth century, beginning,

A robyn gentyl robyn  
tel me how thy leman doth,

<sup>1</sup> Bökdeker, *Altenglische Dichtungen*, pp. 172, 173.

<sup>2</sup> Toulmin Smith, *York Plays*, p. xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Joly Wat and Mall appear in a shepherd group in a Christmas carol, probably of the fifteenth century (Flügel, *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, pp. 117, 118, and 431). I doubt whether the detached entry to only two players at York would have been for a *Pastores*, as Flügel assumes.

<sup>4</sup> Add. MS 31922; *Anglia*, XII, 255, 256; Padelford, *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, 84-86.

<sup>5</sup> Gaytoun, *Festivous Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 271, refers to a dramatic piece called *The Merry Milkmaids*, which was possibly a jig. There are many other indications of the vogue of the milkmaid in popular literature.

<sup>6</sup> Here and in a number of other cases I mention instances of folk-survivals to modern times because I believe that they are usually due to an extensive vogue in mediaeval times. Particularly do I believe that the survivals of forms of folk-drama indicate an exceedingly strong hold among the people, usually before the origin of the Puritan attacks on drama.



is a pure dialogue in its several versions.<sup>1</sup> Henryson's "Robene and Makyne," a pastourelle, was clearly based on folk-songs of the type, and the large amount of dialogue may indicate derivation from song drama. *The Black Man*, an old jig, translated into Dutch before 1633<sup>2</sup> and preserved in Kirkman's *The Wits* of 1672, has a plot much like Adam de la Halle's *Robin et Marion*, though it is not a pastoral. It was probably derived from traditional versions of the Robin and Marian material. Chambers' theory that the Robin Hood and Marian of the May games and morris are due to a fusion of the pastoral Robin with Robin Hood seems to me sound. Wooing scenes in the Robin Hood plays probably survived from old Robin and Marian plays of spring festivals. Such an inference seems to me justified by the presence of a wooing scene in the Robin Hood sections of *Edward I*, and by a reference in *Pasquill and Marforius* to the fool's dancing around Maid Marian to court her.<sup>3</sup>

I have dealt chiefly with the tradition of pastoral lovers because of its continuity. Among other types, one notable theme is furnished by "The Nut Brown Maid"—probably also of the fifteenth century—in which the first stanzas declare the purpose of the singers to act parts. Another dramatic version of the same theme is the poem called "A Iigge" in the Percy Folio MS.<sup>4</sup> A more elaborate form of wooing drama is found in the mummers' plays, as in the second part of the *Revesby Play* and in the Lincolnshire Plough Monday plays, whose wooing scenes almost certainly go back to the mediaeval spring festival. This wooing drama is very probably reflected in the numerous burlesques of peasants' wooing preserved in mediaeval

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia*, XII, 241, 242, and XVIII, 487, 488. It is sung by Feste in *Twelfth Night*, IV, 2.

Earlier references to such songs are found in *Romaunt of the Rose*, l.7455 (a translation from the French), "of the daunce Joly Robin"; and in *Traylus and Cresseide*, Book V, stanza 168, "From hasel-wode, ther Joly Robin pleyde." A line of a song of the type is preserved in a MS of the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh (quoted in Ritson, *Robin Hood*, 1832, I, cxxiii), "Jolly Robin goe to the green wood to thy lemman." The tune, "My Robin is to the Greenwood Gone; or Bonny Sweet Robin," is mentioned frequently in the Elizabethan period, and many copies of the music are preserved. Cf. Chappell, *Old English Popular Music*, pp. 233, 234.

<sup>2</sup> Bolte, *Die Singspiele der engl. Komödianten*, pp. 28-30.

<sup>3</sup> McKerrow, *Works of Nashe*, I, 83.

<sup>4</sup> Hales-Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, II, 334 ff. Similar treatments of woman's loyalty to love are frequent in the broadside ballads, often in pure dialogue form.

farce.<sup>1</sup> The earliest bit of such farce found in Great Britain occurs in the Induction to Lindsay's *Satire of the Three Estates*, where the characters are virtually the same as in the wooing part of the *Revesby Play*, and the spirit of treatment is very similar, though an intrigue plot is used.

As a whole, the song drama, developing probably from the sacred marriage and love ritual of the spring fertilization festivals in pagan times, while it has left numerous dialogue songs even in early periods, seldom developed into a formal type of drama. Perhaps somewhat more formal and less purely of the people than the wooing drama were the French *bergerie* and the English folk-pastoral, which may represent a literary development of the *pastourelle* motives, perhaps at times under the influence of the classical eclogue. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, at any rate, eclogue drama seems to have existed in England along with the older spring wooing songs, and there are evidences of such drama on the Continent much earlier than in England. In *Griseldis*, the unique secular play of France left to us from the fourteenth century, two shepherds appear in three scenes.<sup>2</sup> One of the shepherds is fired to ambition by the rise of *Griseldis*, while the other is content with the shepherd's estate and the shepherd's love-making. The last dialogue of the two closes the play. A farce from the latter half of the fifteenth century, *Bergerie nouvelle fort joyeuse et morale de Mieux-que-devant*, also has shepherd scenes.<sup>3</sup> There are early records of a number of performances in France which are interesting in this connection. In April, 1485, a bourgeois produced before Charles VIII at Rouen a play that "estoit une matiere faicte sur pastoureries et estoit une function traictée sur bucoliques."<sup>4</sup> Before Queen Anne there was given at Nantes in 1498 "une pastorale dans un bocage artificiel dressé exprès," and at Dinan in 1505 "vint au devant d'elle environ demie lieu une bergere fort joyeuse à la collaudation de ladicte dame,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Creizenach, *Geschichte d. n. Dramas*, I, 412, 418, 420, 421, 424; II, 188 ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. D. D. Griffith called my attention to this fact.

<sup>3</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 170-81.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346. In 1468, a dwarf representing a *bergère* rode a great lion of gold and sung a *rondeau* in honor of "la belle bergère" in a pageant before Margaret of England at Bruges. Cf. F. Faber, *Histoire du théâtre français en Belgique*, p. 5.

faicte de hault stille et jouée a ladvenant pars gens de sorte."<sup>1</sup> At Le Mans, May 2, 1507, was performed a "farce moralisée de pastoureaux"; and a number of bergeries were produced in the next twenty-five years in various parts of France.<sup>2</sup> One of these was played at the French court. In June, 1527, before the King at Paris, according to an account by an Englishman, Viscount Lisle, there "was a play of shepherds which brought in the Ruin of Rome."<sup>3</sup> Jean Bouchet at the end of the fifteenth century describes such pastimes:

Nous prenions vestemens de pastours  
Et jouyons en très joyeux atours  
Pour passe temps, satyres, bergeries,  
Et faisons tout plain de mommeries;  
J'entends es jours que l'escole cessoit  
Et que chacun ses ébats pourchassoit.<sup>4</sup>

After the middle of the sixteenth century a number of French pastorals, bergeries, or eclogues, chiefly for courtly presentation, appeared in print.<sup>5</sup> Much material of the type had also appeared in Italy and Spain.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, before the end of the century the records of eclogue drama become fairly numerous in Italy.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Le Braz, *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre celtique*, pp. 262-63. Savage men, wood-woses, etc., in similar rôles were very common in the masques and pageants of the Tudors, especially in those devised for the flattery of Queen Elizabeth, where shepherds also appear.

<sup>2</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 359, 374, 375; Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 1; Creizenach, III, 38, 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, IV, 1444.

<sup>4</sup> Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 1, and Hamon, *Jean Bouchet*, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> A long list of these is given by Marsan, pp. 174-75.

<sup>6</sup> For summaries of eclogue drama in Italy and Spain, cf. Creizenach, II, 188 ff., and III, 97 ff., and Marsan, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff. and 70 ff. On these discussions and that of Greg noted below I have had to rely largely for my data.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 5, n. 2 for Bellincioni's testimony to the vogue of eclogues in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century:

Altri fa Silve e son cannucci in brago,  
Altre egloghe vulgari, altri latine,  
Si che Elicon s'è già fatta un lago.

This testimony is similar to that of Bouchet for France, and the two passages suggest that only a small proportion of the work in the field, dramatic or non-dramatic, is recorded or preserved.

The most widely accepted theory is that this drama represents a new dramatic vogue in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> But the vogue was possibly due to a new impetus which the Renaissance gave to older dramatic conventions. Scattering records indicate that shepherds were not new in drama at the end of the fifteenth century; the almost simultaneous spread of eclogue drama in Spain and in various parts of Italy and France could hardly have resulted from a species invented about the time of the first records in Italy and France; and almost from the beginning the eclogue drama shows as much of the conventionality of old pastourelles and festival games as of the simpler classical pastorals. To illustrate this last point, popular origin is suggested in a dramatic eclogue described as a "festa in atti rusticali" included in Cassio da Narni's romance, *La morte del Danese*,<sup>2</sup> while "rustic pastoral" is frequently a component part of the eclogue drama.<sup>3</sup> In a lost pastoral play performed at Bologna in 1496 the romantic giant of popular pageantry appears.<sup>4</sup> "Fauns, nymphs, bears, pelicans, and wild men of the woods" are found in a play of Cavassico in 1513.<sup>5</sup> Eclogue plays show other romantic features also. Particularly do they seem to echo frequently both folk wooing drama and the mediaeval love debate.<sup>6</sup>

No such definite evidence for the existence of an early pastoral drama of this type is obtainable for England as for France, Italy, and Spain. Still, the presence of pastoral conventions in England

<sup>1</sup> Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 423-43, gives an excellent summary of the discussions of the subject, and makes a strong argument for the accepted view.

<sup>2</sup> Greg, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171-72, 426, 431-34, 436-39. The fact stressed by Greg, that eclogue dramas with classic form were preserved before those with popular elements are recorded, seems to me what we should expect in Italy during the early Renaissance, while the new interest of the Renaissance in secular literature and particularly in classical types like the pastoral may account for the beginning of fuller records for festival eclogue drama in both classic and popular form.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 432; D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, II, 370-72.

<sup>5</sup> Greg, pp. 433, 434.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Greg, p. 431, for two plays of Caperano which are described as "medleys of pastoral amours . . . showing traces of the influence of the not yet fully developed 'rustic' eclogue"; p. 434, for the "May-day shows" with their wooings, a combination of "the courtly and the popular pastoral;" etc.

Disputations on love are described by Greg, pp. 430, 431, 435. Tansillo's *I due pellegrini*, about 1528, with its debate on the relative suffering of lovers, is suggestive in parts of Heywood's *Play of Love*. Cf. *Giornale Storica della Lett. Ital.*, XIII, 382 and Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, p. 255, for "dramatic eclogues about love" presented before a Queen of a Court of Love at Milan in 1523.

before the reign of Elizabeth, inconclusive as it is by way of evidence, seems worth noting, because pastoral conventions developing out of the simpler pastourelle song drama would most naturally be exploited in festival pastimes, where our records are scantiest. The development from the pastourelle motives that certainly existed in England in song drama to the shepherd scenes that appear in the first mythological plays as an integral part of what seems to be a traditional formula must have included dramatic pastorals—that is, if the development in England paralleled that in France. In one very early ballad, *King Edward and the Shepherd*, the name “Joly Robyn,” assumed by the King in disguise, suggests the pastourelle convention. In a long poem of the fifteenth century, *Colkelbie Sow*, shepherds, neatherds, and swineherds are satirized for their passion for disguised dances of all kinds, but in the names of several scores of their disguisings no title can be identified as that of a pastoral.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the comic scenes of the Towneley *Second Shepherds’ Play* reflect the interest in the pastoral type, though connected with the regular representation of shepherds in the mysteries. The bergeret sung in *The Flower and the Leaf* (l. 348) may be significant only as showing the survival of a name among the makers of pastimes at festivals, but it testifies to the conventionality of pastoral conceptions. Early in the sixteenth century, Skelton mentions in his *Garland of Laurel* a device that he “made in disporte” of “howe iollas lound goodly phillis.” This supposed adaptation of an eclogue of Virgil may not have been dramatic, but “device” is a term commonly used in the sixteenth century for pageants, disguisings, etc., and “disport” has the same association. Shepherds appear in a disguising of 1527 described below. A pure dialogue between two shepherds—which may have been a Protestant interlude—is found in “A tale of Robin hoode, dialouge wise beetweene Watt and

<sup>1</sup> In *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ca. 1548, the shepherds are described as telling romantic stories, singing songs, and dancing. The tales include the chief classical stories that developed as mythological plays; some of the titles of songs suggest dialogue; and some of the names of dances may be derived from disguisings. These pieces show in the burlesque of shepherds and other hinds the satirical and farcical vein stressed by Marsan for the French *bergerie* (*op. cit.*, 132); but they also emphasize the romance of such characters while satirizing it. A more romantic use of popular festival conceptions was made, I think, by the early courtly writers who composed valentine poems and described spring festivals. The rise of farce and grotesque satire caused the same material to be developed with gross realism except in the court of love poems of the upper classes.

Jeffrey."<sup>1</sup> Dramatic use of pastoral conventions is clearer from the time of Elizabeth. *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, a play probably belonging to the early part of her reign, contains pastoral scenes with realistic shepherds.<sup>2</sup> In 1565-66, *Lusus Pastorales* was entered on the Stationers' Register.<sup>3</sup> A better bit of evidence is given in *A Second and Third Blast of Retreat from Stages and Theatres*,<sup>4</sup> 1580, where "wanton wiues fables, and pastoral songs of loue" are mentioned as common elements in the popular plays of the period. In masques and mythological plays during the seventies and eighties of the sixteenth century, there is a considerable development of pastoral and sylvan scenes showing the traditional conventions of festival pageantry rather than the conventions of formal Renaissance pastoral.<sup>5</sup>

Pastoral drama also entered into the folk-repertoire at festivals, but the evidence for this development in England is late. Perdita, distributing her flowers at the sheep-shearing feast, declares:

Methinks I play as I have seen them do  
In Whitsun pastorals: sure this robe of mine  
Does change my disposition.<sup>6</sup>

Probably Perdita's distribution of flowers, and possibly Ophelia's, belong to garland customs in the spring wooing games, customs that were as old as the spring ritual.

The strongest evidence for the annual presentation at any one place of such pastorals as Perdita alludes to belongs to the Cotswold

<sup>1</sup> Furnivall, *Ballads from Manuscripts*, I, 295-98. The seemingly non-dramatic dialogue *Rede me and be nott Wrothe*, in which the interlocutors are the same characters, Wat and Jeffery, is called in its dedication an interlude. Jeffery was, in all probability, like Wat and Robin, a traditional figure. Cf. *Buggbears*, I, 1, 70, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This play, including the pastoral scenes, was drawn from the fifteenth-century French romance *Perceforest*, as pointed out by L. M. Ellison in his dissertation on *The Early Romantic Drama at the English Court*.

<sup>3</sup> Arber's *Transcript*, I, 313.

<sup>4</sup> Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Brotanek, *Die englischen Maskenspiele*, pp. 46 ff. for the masques, and Brown, *Poems by Salisbury and Chester*, pp. 19 f., for "A poore Sheapheards introduction made in A merriime of christmas."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *infra* for Sidney's reference to picking flowers in a garden as a detail of the typical romantic drama. In Spenser's *Tears of the Muses*, ll. 279 f., there may be a reference to folk performances in the mention of shepherds' pastorals in arbors:

And arbors sweet, in which the Shepheards swaines  
Were wont so oft their Pastoralls to sing.

Dialogue songs of shepherd characters were known early in the drama as in the one left from Peele's *Hunting of Cupid*.

Hills, where, in the seventeenth century at least, celebrated games were held. Complimentary poems to Dover after he had promoted the games for about forty years give the most extensive information on the subject,<sup>1</sup> and seem to indicate that features of the sports were dramatic. Wallington refers to "games, sports, plays, and Chivalrie."<sup>2</sup> Another passage may imply that Robin Hood games were performed.<sup>3</sup> But apparently pastoral plays and games in varied forms, including mythological and romantic pastorals, were most popular. One of the poems in the volume is a pastoral dialogue in which Collen and Thenot praise Dover for reviving folk-festival games. Many references to shepherds' performances occur. In one poem Syrinx, the "pastorall Pipe," is made to dedicate herself to Dover, her "best dearest lover." Sanford, addressing Cotswold, declares:

You hereby doe possesse the honour'd names  
Of sweet *Arcadia*, and th' *Olimpick Games*,  
  
But why strive I to amplifie your pride  
With these Applauds, when't cannot be deny'd,  
But yee are made the Theater of *Iove*  
On which the *Muses* act a Scene of Love.<sup>4</sup>

According to Stratford,

*Nymphes, Faunes, and Satyres, Thesally* have fled,  
And pleasant *Tempe* have abandoned;  
Keeping their Revells now on *Cotswold* downes,  
In thy great honour, dauncing Maskes, and Rownes:  
Which tunes the silvan Queristers doe sing,  
By *Pan* instructed for their Revelling:  
Since *Nimphes* and *Fayres* strive to grace thy playes,  
I cannot but applaud them in my *Layes*.<sup>5</sup>

The romantic pastorals suggested here are also suggested by Cole, who speaks of "the swarthy Shepheard" as singing "Of loves, and

<sup>1</sup> These poems were published in 1638 in a volume called *Annalia Dubrensis. Vpon the yeerely celebration of Mr. Robert Dovers Olimpick Games vpon Cotswold-Hills*, which is reprinted by Grosart in his *Occasional Issues*, and in part by Lentzner in *Anglia*, XII, 401-36. The description of the games is chiefly incidental, and most of the poets emphasize features that could be compared with the Olympic games, especially racing and coursing. It is clear, however, that the folk had a large share in the games.

<sup>2</sup> P. 31.

<sup>3</sup> P. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 50-51.

<sup>5</sup> P. 49.



fairy Knights."<sup>1</sup> Another writer, referring to the attitude of the Puritan, clearly alludes to mythological plays or disguisings:

Nor can his tender Conscience, but be grieved,  
To see the old Gods, and Goddesses revived  
In thy disports; And things there done in fact;  
Which Poets did but fayne, and Players act.<sup>2</sup>

The poems, indeed, give sufficient indication that varied forms of pastoral drama and pageantry prevailed—dances, games, etc., as well as mythological plays or disguisings.

Clearer evidence that simple pastoral dialogues were current at Cotswold is found later in a poem, "The Cotsal Shepheards,"<sup>3</sup> 1667, which claims to describe "How they make love on Cotsall plain," and which has a wooing dialogue imbedded in it. "Our pastoralls in May" are mentioned in this poem. The May pastorals may represent a tradition continued from the sixteenth century, for it seems probable that the celebration of a regular festival in the region was much older than the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> When Queen Elizabeth visited Sudeley in the same region about 1592, a masque<sup>5</sup> was devised for her in which "shepheards pastimes" were to be presented, if not "too meane." This masque probably utilized shepherd figures, not alone because Sudeley was in a region of shepherds, but because such figures appeared in pastimes of the people symbolizing their calling, as Vulcan was a symbol of the gild of smiths. At any rate, after a scene presenting Apollo, Daphne, and a shepherd, it was planned that the "great Constable and commandadore of Cots-holde" "clothed all in sheepes-skins, face & all," and speaking "no language, but the Rammish tongue"—he utters only the one sound, *bea*—should introduce through an interpreter a dialogue of shepherds. The chief characters in the dialogue are Melibaeus and Nisa, to whom the lot falls to act as king and queen for the occasion, and who with the clown Cutter of Cootsholde engage in *demandes d'amour* in the form of riddles.<sup>6</sup> A love song is sung at the command of the

<sup>1</sup> P. 46.

<sup>2</sup> P. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Included in *Folly in Print*. Cf. Brydges, *Brit. Bibliographer*, II, 323-26.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Drake, *Shakespeare and his Times*, I, 252, 253, for various bits of evidence that the games were known before the seventeenth century. Cf., also, *Annalia Dubrensis*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Printed in 1592. Cf. *Works of Lyly*, ed. Bond, I, 477-84.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the accounts of early eclogue drama above and of the riddles in marriage drama below.

shepherd queen. Perhaps it was due to the association of pastorals with Cotswold that Drayton introduced into his ninth eclogue a gathering of shepherds on the Cotswold, where several pastoral dialogues are sung at the command of the festival King of Shepherds. In the seventeenth century, however, pastoral dialogues, rather widely distributed in the form of eclogues, madrigals, and broadsides, enjoyed a vogue among the people and also at the court, where they were often sung before the Stuart kings. One dramatic piece, Cox's pastoral droll *Diphilo and Granida*, published in the seventeenth century but probably using older material, is worth special mention because it survives in part in a traditional Somersetshire mummers' play collected by Hunter in 1822.<sup>1</sup> Enough has been said to indicate that folk pastoral drama may have been of considerably greater age and extent than dramatic records show.

There are indications, also, that festival plays took other forms than that of the pastoral. The Robin Hood plays so widespread in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in May games—the only Robin Hood plays published in the sixteenth century are described on the title-page as for "Maye games"—represent an extension of the material for the spring festival and a somewhat more formal type of drama. These two plays printed as one by Copland suggest the use of several short plays in succession to lengthen and elaborate the dramatic performance. Jackson, who seems to have witnessed performances of Robin Hood plays about the middle of the eighteenth century, testifies to the use of a series of plays.<sup>2</sup>

Several rather generalized early references to festival pageantry raise the question whether formal drama other than mystery and miracle plays may not have been known in England from the thirteenth century in folk festivals. Thus Grosseteste in an order of

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Museum Add. MS 24546. Somersetshire, of course, borders on the Cotswold Hills, and this mummers' play may be a traditional relic of the Cotswold pastorals. The only other possible folk-pastoral known to me is the folk-song "Oh! Shepherd, Oh! Shepherd, will you come home," which is a pure dialogue and has the structure of old dance carols. Miss Gilchrist, *Journal of Folk Song Soc.*, III, 122-25, conjectures that it may have been a singing game. A Scotch version is given in Herd, *Scottish Songs*, II, 182-83.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Scottish Stage*, p. 412. Jackson mentions plays on the Sheriff of Nottingham, the robbery of the Bishop of Hereford, the contest with the Pindar of Wakefield, and "many other exploits." A version of the first is preserved from the fifteenth century. Copland printed *Robin Hood and Friar Tuck* and *Robin Hood and the Potter*. In *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington* (IV, 2) Munday speaks of "How Greenleaf robb'd the Shrieve of Nottingham."

about 1244 declares: "Faciunt etiam, ut audivimus, clerici ludos quos vocant miracula: et alios ludos quos vocant Inductionem Maii sive Autumni."<sup>1</sup> The fact that *ludos* in the first phrase refers to a known type of formal drama contributes to the assumption that it does in the second also. Besides the May games we have here a record of autumn games. Perhaps even the "Ludi de Rege et Regina"<sup>2</sup> forbidden in an order of 1240 were formal drama. References to "somour games" occur about 1303 in the *Handlyng Synne* (ll. 4681 and 8987). In the following passage from a fifteenth-century manuscript, if the word "pleyis" refers to regular drama, the connection suggests secular festival plays:

In[gl]ond goith to noughte, *plus fecit homo viciosus;*  
To lust man is broughth, *nimis est homo deliciosus.*  
Goddis halydays *non observantur honeste,*  
For unthryfty pleyis in eis regnant manifeste.<sup>3</sup>

The order of 1418 against "eny manere mommyng, pleyes, enterludes, or eny oper disgisynge" at night by any "persone, of what astate, degre, or condicioun" during the Christmas period indicates both varied types of festival drama and extensive popularity among the people.<sup>4</sup>

So far as I have found, the first clear account of the disguisings of the people on festival occasions is furnished by a deposition defending the town of Norwich against the charge of having raised an insurrection at Shrovetide in 1443:

And wher that it was so that on John Gladman of Norwich which was ever and at this oure is a man of sad disposicion and true and fethful to God and to the King, of disporte as is and ever hath ben accustomed in ony Cite or Burgh thurgh al this reame on fastyngong tuesday made a disporte w<sup>t</sup> his neighbourghs having his hors trapped with tyneseyle and otherwyse dysgysyn things crowned as King of Kristmesse in token that all merthe shuld end with ye twelve monthes of ye yer, afore hym eche moneth disgysd

<sup>1</sup> Chambers, I, 91.

<sup>2</sup> Chambers, I, 91. The king and queen of seasonal festivals may, I think, be presumed to have had a part in the drama represented. Considerable evidence for this I shall give in another study. Here I may refer to the integral part played by the king in the wooling drama as shown in the Ambleforth mummers' play published by C. J. Sharp in *Sword Dances of Northern England*, Part III.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS 536 (another copy in 941). Quoted by Fairholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, Percy Soc., p. 45; and by Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poetry*, I, 33. The passage suggests Stubbes' famous attack on May games.

<sup>4</sup> Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 669.

after ye seson yerof, and Lenten cladde in white with redde herrings skinnēs<sup>1</sup> and his hors trapped with oyster shelles after him in token y<sup>e</sup> sadnesse and abstinence of merth shulde followe and an holy tyme; and so rode in diuerse stretes of ye Cite w<sup>th</sup> other peple w<sup>th</sup> hym disgysed making merthe and disporte and pleyes.<sup>2</sup>

It is to be noted, first, that in this passage the use of the words "merthe," "disporte," and "pleyes" for types of pastimes implies that the word plays was used with some regard to its distinction from the less dramatic mirth and disport; and, secondly, that the antiquity and universality of such pastimes in England are specifically declared here. It was simply the incursion of this celebration into politics which caused a record of it to be preserved. Indeed, it appears that a performance either among the people or at court was likely to be noted by chroniclers and literary men only in the vaguest way if at all, except for its political bearing or serious import. Thus, in May games of Suffolk in 1537, there was a play "of a king how he should rule his realm," in which Husbandry attacked gentlemen.<sup>3</sup> It is noticeable that of the many plays given at the court of Henry VIII, except in the case of elaborate disguisings, the only plays mentioned by Hall or others with any hint of their nature are two of Plautus and a number of political allegories.

The symbolic figures in the disguising at Norwich suggest a long line of dramatic affiliations. Such figures as Lent and the Months, not unlike those of the allegory of the time but used for quaintness or beauty, occur frequently in the various countries of Europe.<sup>4</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> The later names for clowns, Pickleherring, Stockfish, etc.—symbolizing the spirit of Shrovetide farces rather than seasonal romances, however—may be presumed, I think, to have been derived from figures in such disguisings as this. Dunbar's *Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins* gives evidence of the existence of Shrovetide disguised dances in Scotland around 1500. Possibly farces like those of the German Fastnachtspiele were used for introducing these dances.

<sup>2</sup> *The Records of the City of Norwich*, ed. Hudson and Tingey, I, 345, 346. Blomefield, *Hist. of Norwich*, I, 155, has a number of variations. Cf. Hudson, pp. lxxix and xc, for a discussion of date. Some details of the other disguises and the number of participants on this occasion are given by Blomefield on pp. 149, 150.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, XII, 557, 585; *Library*, 1913, p. 407. Cf. *Hist. MSS Com.*, III, 57, for an attack on the Earl of Lincoln in a play in 1610 "upon a Maypole green."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Creizenach, I, 461 ff. for various debates of this type as drama in Europe at an early period; and Hanford, "Classical Eclogue and Mediaeval Debate," *Romanic Review*, II, 16 ff. and 129 ff. for such debates as the ninth-century *Rosae Liliique Certamen* and Latin, Italian, and French forms of the debate of the Rose and Violet. What was the exact nature of the *Vinchenet et Rosette*, *Peu de grains et largement eau*, etc., presented at Amlens in 1481 (Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 1) I have not been able to learn.

England the development of drama from such disguisings as that of 1443 is indicated in the fifteenth century by debates between Summer and Winter, and Holly and Ivy.<sup>1</sup> Debates on Summer and Winter were numerous on the Continent from early in the Middle Ages, and have descended in England and other countries of Europe in mummers' plays.<sup>2</sup> Holly and Ivy seem to have been used frequently in the period before the Renaissance as symbols of rival groups of celebrants,<sup>3</sup> and probably had some correspondence to such symbols as the Flower and the Leaf. Records of pageantry show the prevalence of similar motives. *A balade by Lydgate sente . . . to be Shirreves of London . . . vponne Mayes daye at Buss-hopes wode at an honorable dyner* was probably an explanation of a pageant in which the figures referred to appeared.<sup>4</sup> In the "balade" Flora sends her daughter Veere, who breaks the might of Winter. Lady May is found in a number of pageants and tourneys in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. In a long speech preserved from such a rôle, she refers to Dame Summer and her sister June.<sup>5</sup> Cornish's pastime on September 3, 1519, called for "two children who played Summer and Lust," "a child that played the Moon," and others who played the Sun, Winter, Wind, and Rain.<sup>6</sup> Heywood's *Play of the Weather* is related to the type.<sup>7</sup> A notable later instance of formal drama of this kind is found in Nashe's *Summer's Last*

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry of England*, III, 31 ff.; Ritson, *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, pp. 113 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, "The Dying God," pp. 254 ff., and Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, pp. 234 ff. Cf. for mediaeval dialogues, Hanford, *loc. cit.*; Crelzenach, I, 463 f.; and Jacobsen, *La Comédie en France au Moyen-Age*, 37 ff. The oldest of these dialogues, *Conflictus veris et hiemis*, dates from about 800. Several are formal dramas.

<sup>3</sup> Chambers, I, 251; *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 431. A modern survival on Valentine Day is recorded in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XLIX (1779), 137. It is not improbable that extensive spring festivals had many a dramatic debate of flowers and plants as well as of symbols of the seasons. The folk-belief in the virtues of various herbs and flowers, and the extensive use of garlands, May branches, and foliage in costumes for the spring ritual would naturally lead to the use of contrasted plant symbols in drama or pageantry drawn from folk-customs and representing the contest as the great symbol of the change of seasons.

<sup>4</sup> Brotanek, *op. cit.*, p. 14, note, and Fairholt, *Lord Mayor's Pageants*, Percy Soc., II, 240 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Brotanek, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34. Further examples of such symbolism in pageants are to be found in Brotanek; Feullerat, *Documents of the Revels*; Machyn's *Diary*; etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, III, 1550. Cf. Crelzenach, III, 492, 493, for Everaert's play of 1525 in which Wind and Rain appeared.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bolte, *Die Singspiele der engl. Kom.*, p. 12, for Ayrcr's *Von dreyen bösen Weibern*, where two women debate about Rain and Sunshine.

*Will and Testament*, 1592. Here symbols of seasons, mythological figures, and sundry festival groups appear—Ver in green moss, Summer in a wheaten crown, Autumn in tawny leaves, Vertumnus, Winter, Backwinter, Christmas, Solstitium like a hermit, Sol richly attired, Harvest with a scythe, Orion like a hunter, Bacchus in ivy on an ass, satyrs, wood nymphs, morris dancers, shepherds, reapers, hunters, clowns, and maids. Festival songs for morris dances in May, harvest homes, etc., relieve the numerous debates of the seasons in Nashe's quaint and picturesque satire.

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[*To be concluded*]





### THE LOVER'S MASS IN ENGLAND AND IN SPAIN

The fifteenth-century poem which is here termed *The Lover's Mass* has been twice printed, once by me in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* for January, 1908, and previously by the late Rev. T. F. Simmons in his *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, EETS, 1879, under the title of *Venus' Mass*. It exists, so far as I know, in but one manuscript, the post-Chaucerian codex Fairfax 16, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. In that manuscript it consists of Introibo, Confiteor, Misereatur, Officium, Kyrie, Gloria, Orison, and Epistle in Prose; no more. Its metrical variations are striking and beautiful; the Officium is a rondeau, the Gloria is in ten-line stanzas, having the fifth and tenth lines short, the Orison is an eight-line stanza, and the rest of the work is in couplets, excepting the Kyrie. This, the most elaborate portion of the poem, has an internally rhymed ringing arrangement similar to Chaucer's *Anelida* 272-80, 333-41 and to Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, ed. Jamieson, II, 290. The text bears in the manuscript no author's name; Simmons ascribed it to Lydgate, following probably Warton-Hazlitt, IV, 60, and he is in turn followed by Neilson in his monograph on the *Court of Love*, p. 223. Brandl in *Grundr. d. Germ. Philologie*, II, 692, considers this authorship impossible, a view in which I concur.

Being now engaged upon a re-editing of this and other texts for my volume of fifteenth-century English verse, I went over again the various features of this *Mass*, and in the course of a rambling investigation followed clues which led to Spain. In the *Missa de Amor* of Suero de Ribera, a Castilian poet of John II's reign, 1406-54, I find the same structural idea as in the *Lover's Mass*, with much less variety in stanza. Ribera writes in the four-beat line throughout, his stanzas varying in length from six to twelve lines; the sections are headed as Confession, Gloria, Epistola, Evangelium, Credo, Prefacio, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. According to Novati, in his "*La parodia sacra nelle letterature moderne*" (*Studi critici*, 1889), there is a poem by Juan de Dueñas, entitled *La Missa de Amores*, which los Rios says was imitated by Ribera in this brief poem. This earlier work is apparently still unprinted, as is a poem by Diego de

Valera, termed the *Litany of Love* by Post in his *Mediaeval Spanish Allegory*, 1915.

The question of the relation between the Spanish and the English treatment now arises. If we assume a common source, French, Italian, or what not, as inspiration for both, we have that source to discover; if we believe that the Spanish gave the unknown English writer the incentive to his far more elaborate though incomplete work, we must seek for proof of closer literary connection between Spain and England in the earlier fifteenth century than has been regarded probable. The union of John of Gaunt with Constance of Castile in 1371, and his subsequent placing of his two daughters upon the thrones of Castile and of Portugal, opened a smooth channel for the exchange of court-poetry, most quickly evidenced perhaps in the rendition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* into Spanish prose; and the similarity in taste and in method between the Castilian fifteenth century and some of the English transitional versifiers is curious. Thus, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, who died in 1407, is said to have made Boccaccio's *De Casibus* known in Castile; and the number of mediocre Castilian poems of the next generation which show the influence of that literary blight is closely parallel to the sequence of imitations in English headed by that of Lydgate about 1420. The group of Spanish versifiers, Ribera and others, represented in the appendix to Ochoa's *Rimas Ineditas* of the Marquess de Santillana, etc., displays such agreements with contemporary England in choice of subject and mode of treatment as could well follow from an equal literary poverty seeking sustenance at an identical source.

The topic requires much investigation; for the present my query of a possible Spanish influence on the *Lover's Mass* must remain a query. That its author was a man of wide reading, as of sensitive metrical ear, is however obvious. The Kyrie adds to the devices already used by Chaucer the characteristically Provençal *coblas capfinidas*; the Epistle enumerates with feeling a list of romances evidently known to the writer, and develops an image taken from Boccaccio's *De Casibus*; and if we are to add to this list the borrowing of the structural idea from Castilian, we have indeed a cosmopolitan student.

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## A NOTE ON THE LAMENTATION OF MARY

The Middle-English *Lamentation of Mary*<sup>1</sup>—based on a Latin sermon popularly ascribed to St. Bernard—begins in most copies with thirty-two lines preceding the invocation. The following parallel quotations will show that this introduction was suggested by a similar one introducing an Anglo-Norman version of the same work, written in England during the thirteenth century, which, for the rest, bears no special relation to the Middle-English poem.<sup>2</sup>

Her is a gret lamentacion betwene vr  
ladi & seint Bernard, Of cristes  
passion, hire dere sone, þat was so  
pyneful & so hard.

*Ici cummence li livre de les lamenta-  
ciuns Nostre Dame seinte Marie.*

Lewed men be not lered in lore,  
As Clerkes ben in holi writ;  
þauȝ men prechen hem bi-fore,  
Hit wol not wonen in heore wit:  
þerfore is þat I syke sore,  
ffor broþurhede, as God hit bit,  
And, ȝif cristes wille wore,  
Wel fayn I wolde amenden hit.

Pur ceus e pur cels ki n'entendent  
quant oient lire latin  
Ai comencé iceste livre;  
Deus i met bon fin!  
Jeo vei qe la gente lettré  
unt lur joie de seint escrist,  
Car quant entendent ceo qu'il oient  
l'alme en ad mult grant delit.  
Les lais ne sevent qe ceo est a dire,  
dunt sovent ai grant pité.  
Car ausi bien les dei amer  
cum les clerks en charité,  
Madles, femmes, tute gent  
del siecle e de religion,  
A tuz sumes nous docturs  
en tant cum fere le poûm.  
Par tant, del petit ke jeo sai  
vous ai iceste romaunce escrit.

ȝif Crist haue send mon wit at  
wille,  
Craft of Clergye, for to preche,  
Alle hise hestes scholde we fulfille  
As ferforþ as we mihten areche.  
ȝonge and olde, holdeþ ow stille:  
ffor broþerhed I wol ow teche—  
þe Mon þat con, and teche nille,  
He mai haue drede of godes wreche.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. in *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, E.E.T.S., No. 98, pp. 297 ff. A text without the lines here quoted is printed by Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers* (London, 1894), II, 274.

<sup>2</sup> Described by M. Paul Meyer in *Romania*, XV, 309 ff. Two manuscripts are known, from each of which Meyer quotes the opening lines. The French poem is a far closer version of its original than the English.

perfore ichaue on Englisch wrouzt,  
 Seint Bernard witnessen in Latyn—  
 Mon may be glad in al his pouzt  
 fat his wit haf leid per-In.  
 Be gospel nul I forsake nouzt,  
 fauz hit be writen in parchemyn;  
 Seynt Iones word, and hit be souzt,  
 per-of hit wole be witnes myn.

While Ihesu crist on eorpe eode,  
 Mony of his Miracles writen bei  
 were:  
 per nis no mon fat mihte rede  
 Be goodnesse fat he dude here.  
 Men and wymmen, ze schulen haue  
 mede,  
 Lusteneþ alle now me I-feere;  
 zif I sigge mis, takeþ good hede,  
 And wisseþ me, fat hit betere were.

ffader and sone and holy gost . . .  
 [pp. 297-99].

KENWOOD, N.Y.

Ore lisez (*sic*), ne puet estre  
 qi ne ad aucune delit;  
 Si rien oiez qe vous semble  
 qe en evangeile ne seit escrit  
 Sachez bien qe en sun livre  
 seint Johan apert le dit:  
 Car si tut fu mis en livre  
 kancke Jhesu fist et dist,  
 Tut le monde n'en entendreit,  
 tant fu[st] grant icel escrit.  
 Pur ceo vous pri comunement  
 qe cest romance lir orretz;  
 Si ren oiez qe vous despleise,  
 jeo prie nel descreez.  
 Rien n'i ad pur verité,  
 si vous die hardiement;  
 Le perteus (?) ne proveieie  
 ai fuisse meismes en present.  
 Seint Bernard fist iceste livre,  
 mès poi i ai mis del men;  
 Ore prium duz Jhesu  
 ke chevir le puisse bien.

Ki me durra tant de lermes  
 ke plurer puisse nuit et jour  
 Jeske atant qe sun serjant  
 conforte le duz Seignur? . . .  
 [Romania, XV, 310-11].

HOPE EMILY ALLEN

